

# CURRENT HISTORY

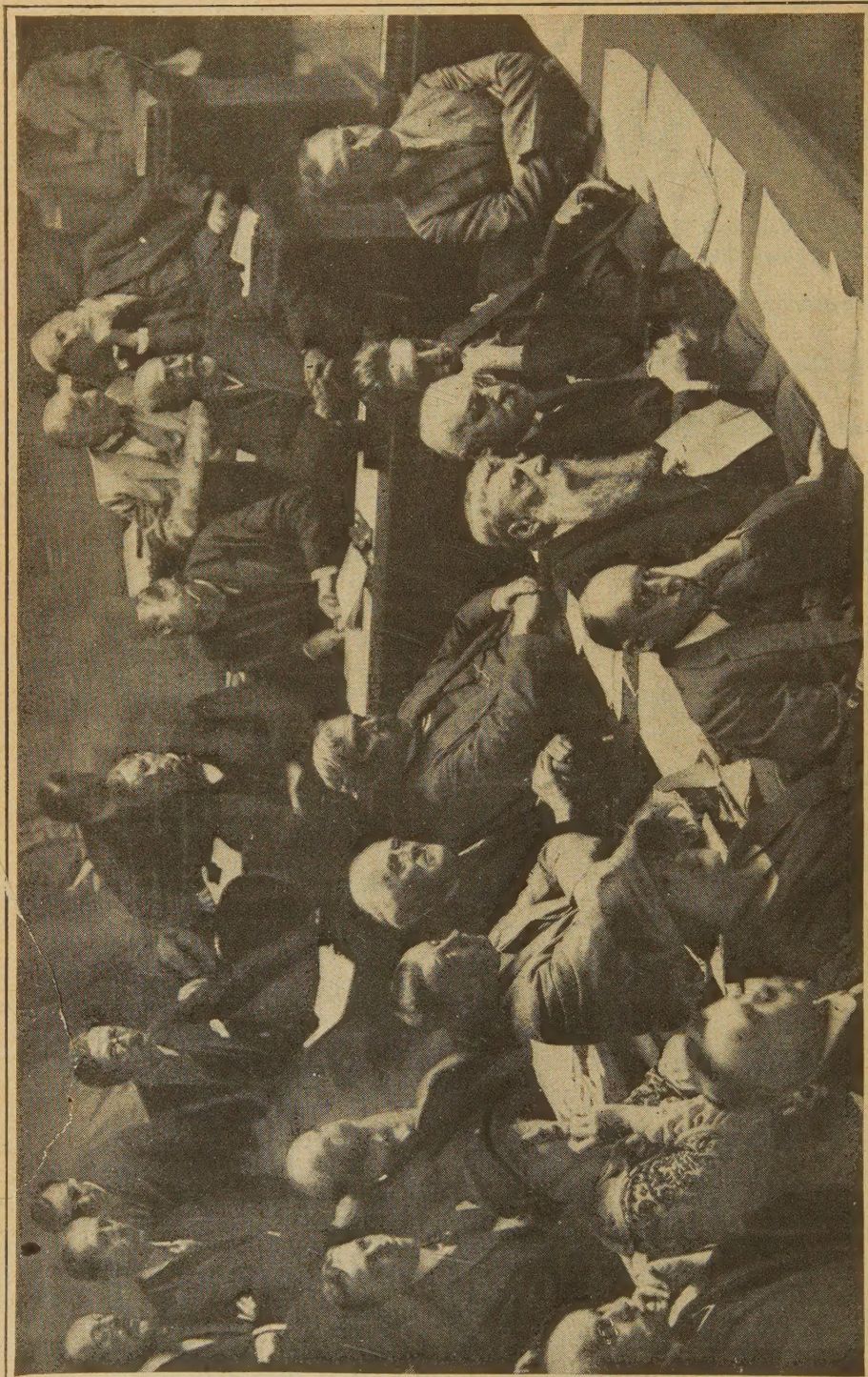
VOL. XXI.

NOVEMBER 1924,

No. 2

Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II. Breaks His Silence—Authorized Presentation of His Views Today.....		165																																										
The League of Nations in Action.....	DENYS P. MYERS	181																																										
	Corresponding Secretary of the World Peace Foundation																																											
America Girdles the Globe in the Air.....	ROBERT J. BROWN JR.	189																																										
	Chairman World Flight Committee																																											
The United States Air Policy.....	EDWARD P. WARNER	198																																										
	Professor of Aeronautical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology																																											
The Myth of American Isolation.....	PITMAN B. POTTER	205																																										
	Professor, University of Wisconsin																																											
Tragic Life and Death of Franz Josef, Emperor-King.....	GEORGE A. SCHREINER	211																																										
	Dean of press representatives at Vienna in 1916																																											
The Macedonian Witches' Cauldron.....	VANGEL SUGAREFF	220																																										
	Professor, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas																																											
Moslem Ferment in French North Africa.....	ELIZABETH KNOWLTON	228																																										
Zaghlul Pasha, Egyptian Revolutionist and Premier.....	ANTHONY CLYNE	234																																										
	British publicist																																											
The Newest Constitution in an Ancient Land.....	RICHARD COKE	241																																										
	Bagdad newspaper correspondent																																											
The Millions of Americans Who Fail to Vote....	SIMON MICHELET	247																																										
	Founder of the National Get-the-Vote-Out Club																																											
Armies and Navies of the World....	GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER	250																																										
Recent Scientific Developments.....	WATSON DAVIS	253																																										
A Month's World History.....	CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES	256																																										
<table><tr><td>REGION</td><td>ASSOCIATE</td><td>UNIVERSITY</td></tr><tr><td>THE UNITED STATES.....</td><td>ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.....</td><td>HARVARD</td></tr><tr><td>MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.....</td><td>CHARLES W. HACKETT.....</td><td>TEXAS</td></tr><tr><td>SOUTH AMERICA.....</td><td>HARRY T. COLLINGS.....</td><td>PENNSYLVANIA</td></tr><tr><td>THE BRITISH EMPIRE.....</td><td>RALSTON HAYDEN.....</td><td>MICHIGAN</td></tr><tr><td>FRANCE AND BELGIUM.....</td><td>WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.....</td><td>MINNESOTA</td></tr><tr><td>GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.....</td><td>WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.....</td><td>COLUMBIA</td></tr><tr><td>ITALY.....</td><td>LILY ROSS TAYLOR.....</td><td>VASSAR</td></tr><tr><td>EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS.....</td><td>FREDERIC A. OGG.....</td><td>WISCONSIN</td></tr><tr><td>RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES.....</td><td>ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH.....</td><td>YALE</td></tr><tr><td>OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE.....</td><td>RICHARD HEATH DABNEY.....</td><td>VIRGINIA</td></tr><tr><td>TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST.....</td><td>ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.....</td><td>ILLINOIS</td></tr><tr><td>THE FAR EAST.....</td><td>PAYSON J. TREAT.....</td><td>STANFORD</td></tr><tr><td>INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.....</td><td>ROBERT McELROY.....</td><td>PRINCETON</td></tr></table>			REGION	ASSOCIATE	UNIVERSITY	THE UNITED STATES.....	ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.....	HARVARD	MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.....	CHARLES W. HACKETT.....	TEXAS	SOUTH AMERICA.....	HARRY T. COLLINGS.....	PENNSYLVANIA	THE BRITISH EMPIRE.....	RALSTON HAYDEN.....	MICHIGAN	FRANCE AND BELGIUM.....	WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.....	MINNESOTA	GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.....	WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.....	COLUMBIA	ITALY.....	LILY ROSS TAYLOR.....	VASSAR	EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS.....	FREDERIC A. OGG.....	WISCONSIN	RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES.....	ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH.....	YALE	OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE.....	RICHARD HEATH DABNEY.....	VIRGINIA	TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST.....	ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.....	ILLINOIS	THE FAR EAST.....	PAYSON J. TREAT.....	STANFORD	INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.....	ROBERT McELROY.....	PRINCETON
REGION	ASSOCIATE	UNIVERSITY																																										
THE UNITED STATES.....	ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.....	HARVARD																																										
MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.....	CHARLES W. HACKETT.....	TEXAS																																										
SOUTH AMERICA.....	HARRY T. COLLINGS.....	PENNSYLVANIA																																										
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.....	RALSTON HAYDEN.....	MICHIGAN																																										
FRANCE AND BELGIUM.....	WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.....	MINNESOTA																																										
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.....	WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.....	COLUMBIA																																										
ITALY.....	LILY ROSS TAYLOR.....	VASSAR																																										
EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS.....	FREDERIC A. OGG.....	WISCONSIN																																										
RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES.....	ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH.....	YALE																																										
OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE.....	RICHARD HEATH DABNEY.....	VIRGINIA																																										
TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST.....	ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.....	ILLINOIS																																										
THE FAR EAST.....	PAYSON J. TREAT.....	STANFORD																																										
INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.....	ROBERT McELROY.....	PRINCETON																																										
The Geneva Protocol to Outlaw War (With Text of Protocol).....		313																																										
World Finance—A Month's Survey.....	FRANCIS H. SISSON																																											





*At a meeting of the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations: Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, in the centre of the picture, with Lord Parmoor and Arthur Henderson (with folded arms) next to him*



# Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II. Breaks His Silence

*Authorized Presentation of His Views Today  
on Germany's War Guilt, the Versailles Treaty,  
the Dawes Plan and the League of Nations*

Runn 8.18.24

*I am deeply grateful for this capital essay. I further  
note its publication as it is, & have no changes to suggest.*

Facsimile of part of message received from the ex-Kaiser authorizing publication of this article. The letters "I.R." under his signature stand for Imperator Rex, the Latin words for Emperor King.

*from Louis  
William*  
*Respectfully*

The appended article was prepared with the sanction of ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II. for THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by George Sylvester Viereck, who is in closer personal relations with the former Emperor than any one outside his immediate entourage. The views of Wilhelm II. as herewith recorded have been gathered from personal conversations, direct letters and authorized documents which Mr. Viereck procured at the instance of the editors of CURRENT HISTORY. The manuscript was submitted to the ex-Kaiser and its publication authorized by him in formal manner; a facsimile of this authorization is herewith reproduced. It will be noted that the ex-Kaiser signs himself "I. R." (Imperator Rex), thus indicating that he regards himself still as Emperor King. In his personal letters he adheres strictly to this formula; furthermore, he refers to his wife as "Her Majesty the Empress."

The ex-Kaiser's letters to Mr. Viereck are written in longhand; he usually uses an indelible pencil and writes in English, of which language he has complete command. He writes in a most intimate and friendly manner to Mr. Viereck, and expresses himself freely on current questions. His correspondence reveals that he is devoting himself to a considerable extent to a study of religious questions, and holds definite views on mod-

ernism and fundamentalism, being a fundamentalist on the New Testament and a modernist on the Old Testament. He holds in his home at Doorn every morning religious exercises at which are present his wife, his official circle and all his servants; these exercises consist of Bible reading and prayers. On Sundays he conducts formal services and delivers a sermon on a text from the Bible. His correspondence further reveals the fact that his domestic relations are happy; his references to his wife, Hermine, display the deepest affection.

The ex-Kaiser's present health is excellent. He spends his time in study, takes long walks, and exercises by chopping wood and mowing grass. At night he reads extracts from newspapers to his family circle and comments freely as he proceeds.

Mr. Viereck, who transcribes the former monarch's views in the following article, is the son of the late Louis Viereck, who was a member of the German Reichstag. His mother is a native of California, whose father came to America in 1848 and was director of the German Theatre in San Francisco. Mr. Viereck was graduated at City College, New York City, in 1906. He then became associate editor of Current Opinion and edited The International, a literary magazine. Mr.



Viereck has achieved reputation as a poet, his chief publications being "Nineveh and Other Poems," "Songs of Armageddon" and "The Candle and the Flame." As a dramatist he is the author of "The Game of Love" and other plays. Other works include his "Confessions of a Barbarian" (a book of essays), "The House of Vampire," a fantastic tale, and a translation of Schiller's "Maid of Orleans," which was produced by Maude Adams at the Harvard Stadium.

Mr. Viereck at present resides in New York City and is editor of *The American Monthly*, originally *The Fatherland*. During the war and up to 1916 Mr. Viereck was regarded as

one of the chief interpreters of the German point of view in America, and became the chief target for savage criticisms from the strong anti-German elements in this country. On account of his defense of Germany he was dropped from the Authors' League, the Poetry Society and the Athletic Club. Though he was bitterly attacked, the Government authorities, after thorough investigation, found nothing in his conduct to justify proceedings.

Mr. Viereck's acquaintance with the ex-Kaiser was the result of correspondence growing out of his literary work. During the past two years his relations with the former Emperor have become personal and intimate.

WHATEVER the ultimate verdict of posterity, it is of value to the historical student to establish personal contacts with the man who was once the mightiest monarch in Europe, as well as the outstanding protagonist in the tragedy of the World War against Germany. "The verdict of the Court of First Resort, a court dominated by allied guns and Northcliffe propaganda, has gone against us," Wilhelm II. remarked to me under the oak trees of Doorn. "My books are a brief submitted to the Appellate Division—the sober second thought of mankind. In the final arbitrament both I and my people will stand guiltless before the Supreme Court of History and of God."

Wilhelm II. does not give interviews. He issues no statements for newspaper publication. I am, nevertheless, in a position to present, with authority, the opinions of the former Kaiser on the World War and its aftermath. Privileged to be several times the guest of his Majesty in Doorn, I am familiar, through personal letters and other channels, with the views of the exiled monarch on many subjects. This study of his present state of mind is based partly on my conversations with Wilhelm II. and his communications to me, and partly on works written or authorized by him, the whole interpreted to me in the light of his own remarks. I refer especially to the "Kaiser's Memoirs," to his "Historical Tables" and to the record of "Intimate Talks and Walks With the

Kaiser," recently published by Colonel Niemann.

Religion, archaeology and history are the three studies which now engage the attention of the exile of Doorn. Chief among his pursuits is the study of the history of his own time. "I am," he stated to me, "devoting the long years of my exile to the task of combating the lie that Germany wanted war. Upon that lie, as Lloyd George admits, rests the abomination known as the Peace Treaty of Versailles. Upon that lie also rests the Government that succeeded me. Both stand and fall together." It is for this reason, his Majesty thinks, that the present German Government has never seriously assailed the "guilt lie." It is for the same reason that the voluminous evidence of allied "atrocities," though studiously collected, was never given to the world. I am not stating my personal conclusions. I merely reiterate impressions received in various conversations with the Master of Doorn.

#### DENIES GERMANY'S WAR GUILT

"Germany," the Kaiser remarked to me, "has thrown open her archives to the world. Allied archives were opened in part by the Soviet Government and through occasional indiscretions of allied statesmen. In the light of the evidence collected by Nitti, Morel, Pevet and others, the theory of Germany's guilt," his Majesty contends, "is no longer tenable. We know now that the





From a painting by Alfred Schwarz  
THE EX-KAISER WILHELM II.

the long and copiously documented article urging reassessment of the war guilt, by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, published in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. [Assessing the Blame for the World War—A Revised Judgment Based on All the Available Documents.] Unlike many American critics of Barnes, the Kaiser does not look upon him as having the slightest pro-German bias. The Barnes article, in his opinion, contains numerous mistakes, owing to the fact that the author's information was necessarily incomplete. This misinformation leads to "errors of judgment." The final conclusion seems to the Kaiser "entirely beside the mark." But "the tendency to come to a just and fair opinion at a time when it still takes courage to speak the truth is gratifying. It renews one's faith in humanity."

Barnes says somewhere that the only charge that can be brought against the Kaiser and his Chancellor is "stupid-

policy of encircling Germany was not a nightmare of the Wilhelmstrasse, but a fact. The proof has been pieced together, strand by strand, from a wealth of sources, including the memoirs of Paléologue and Sukhomlinov, the forgeries of the Russian Orange Book, revealed by Siebert, and so forth."

His Majesty read with intense interest

Facsimile of the signature Wilhelm, I. R., on the back of the copy of his portrait reproduced on this page



ity." That, if it could be proved, would be a serious fault. In rulers stupidity, too, is a crime. However, Professor Barnes cannot deny that the charge of "stupidity" is hardly consistent in the case of a ruler who preserved the peace of Europe for a quarter of a century and who developed the scholarship, the industry and the social conscience of his nation to the highest pitch during that period. "However," as the Kaiser remarked to me, "an honest, truthful gentleman is always 'stupid' when surprised and confronted by inconceivable villainy."

#### LAUDS SPEECH OF SENATOR OWEN

The most formidable collection of pre-war material, in the Kaiser's opinion, is embodied in the 100,000-word speech made in the United States Senate on Dec. 18, 1923, by the Hon. Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, whose 100 per cent. American antecedents may be deduced from the fact that he is the descendant of an American Indian. Senator Owen's speech, the Kaiser insists, exonerates Germany and her rulers. Owen is no friend of the Kaiser today. He was the bitter enemy of the German people throughout the war. He voted for every war measure. He ardently supported President Wilson's demand for "force without stint." On a trip abroad, however, the Senator learned of the Sukhomlinov trial. He heard, to his surprise, that the Russian General was found guilty by his own people of having started the war! He read with increasing consternation the letters that passed between Sazonov and Isvolsky, the communications between Poincaré and his associates. He discovered for himself the conspiracies between Russian Grand Dukes and French Chauvinists to precipitate war. He realized that the British Cabinet had discussed the German invasion of Belgium—which later aroused its horrified protest—as a matter of course!\* He perused the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between England and France, which, without the knowledge of Parliament,

obligated Great Britain to come to the aid of her ally.

All these facts Senator Owen collected and collated. They may be found in the Congressional Record. Owen declares that in making these revelations part of the record of the Congress of the United States, he merely fulfilled his duty as a conscientious public servant. His speech is a gesture of atonement. He demands a revision of the Peace Treaty, especially of that clause acknowledging Germany's guilt. This clause, as the Kaiser points out, constitutes part of the peace treaty between the United States and Germany!

"Monarchs," the Emperor avers, in one of his conversations with Niemann, "whatever their characters may be, are historical personages. Their lives and their achievements do not belong in the forum of their contemporaries or, at any rate, only to the extent made necessary by constructive criticism. A conclusive judgment of their life work is possible only at a historical distance."

#### INTERPRETING HIS MEMOIRS

In a discussion of his "Memoirs," published in Germany under the title, "Events and Figures," the Emperor gave to Niemann the following interpretation of his aim:

"It is lamentable that the German people got such slight benefit out of my cooperation in the attempt to explode the war guilt lies. That was a problem the solution of which is even more important than the solution of all domestic problems—a problem to which I devote many free hours of the day and many an hour of the night. I daily go through the leading newspapers of our opponents in the war. I read every book or pamphlet which concerns itself with the question of war guilt. Since coming to Holland, no

\*Major Cyprian Bridge, British General Staff, in a letter to Dr. von Wegerer, shows that Great Britain had prepared every detail for mobilization against Germany as far back as 1912, when the British were ready to invade Flanders to attack Germany. They had even provided portable bridges and flying bridges to cross the Flemish canals. [Annotation by the Kaiser.]





From a painting by Alfred Schwarz

THE EMPRESS HERMINE  
The second wife of the ex-Kaiser

day passes without my sifting the material I daily find and collating it with my own hand, arranging it and comparing it assiduously. I have sent this material to Germany. The German press concerns itself with these things not at all, or only very casually.

"I am sorry to have to say that my book and the 'Historical Tables' which the book supplements have found more appreciation and understanding abroad than at home. Perhaps public attention in Germany is too much engaged

just now by the general poverty and want and by the domestic political struggle. I should think myself that the terrible factional feuds in Germany would scarcely be appeased until all classes and parties combine for a united battle with the war guilt lies. For the sake of this struggle alone—which I shall never weary of waging until its triumphant close—were my revelations made.

"Friedrich Wilhelm III. involved his people in a dire catastrophe. Those who experienced it justly characterized it as a frightful national tragedy. Now we know what a glorious new German existence blossomed from the soil of this calamity. Was the catastrophe, viewed at a historical distance, a national misfortune?

"Whoever reads my book, 'Events and Figures,' must rest assured that it comprises in a sense a single document directed against

the war guilt lies. Without the refutation of such mendacities we shall not get anywhere. The book is conceived as a rounding out of my 'Historical Tales,' which comprise rather dry reading, especially for those who are not entirely at home with the details of history. For this reason, I rounded out my expositions with personal recollections and anecdotes just for the sake of making those expositions livelier. Of course, the serious background—the fight against the war



guilt lies—was not to be lost sight of by this device.

"I had no need to begin this battle of words. I had the keenest weapons at my disposal, the miserable but absolute truth. It will not be without its effect. Had I proceeded from the point of view of a mere war of words it would have been easy for me to exhibit myself in the rôle of an absolute despot and to have declared that I did reign absolutely, that, hence, Germany under my absolutism had attained an unprecedented development, in the face of which the whole world was filled with wonder and admiration. Not until the German people had forced the parliamentary system upon me did the path to the abyss yawn for us. Had I clung to absolutism (I might have argued) matters would never have reached the extremity of armed conflict; we would never have reached the depth of the Versailles dictatorship; we would have remained a free country and a free people.

"Such ready and such plausible arguments I forebore to employ. I stuck to the actual fact. I was candid, but sincere. This absolute truthfulness will—it must—serve the people in their battle with the war liars.

#### DENIAL OF DESPOTISM

"The part of an absolute despot was imagined to be mine. The fable was made the most of, not only by the Governments of the allied powers, but even among the masses of the allied peoples, and finally among the German people themselves. What was needed for the purposes of an efficient propaganda was the portrait of a sanguinary Nero who had carefully prepared the war and actually made it inevitable. Cleverly, too, were matters so presented as to make it seem as if I had violated my constitutional obligations and had thus contrived the war against the will of my responsible advisers and against the will of the peaceable and peace-loving German people by conducting myself as an insolent despot with a bloodthirsty ambition for conquest.

"To undermine the foundation of these war lies I have to make an end of the picture of the bloody despot. Evidence of the utter lack of all foundation for the enemy's insinuations I could present only by means of the simple truth. I had but to set forth the events and the figures of my time just as they were. My book was not written for my own satisfaction. It was intended to be one of the weapons, one of the cleanest of all the weapons, we need in order to win the victory. History cannot in the long run be falsified, and I have not even attempted to falsify it. In our righteous cause we have nothing to hide or evade. Our shield is free from stain.

"In flat defiance of truth, I might, for instance, have written certain things in a certain way. I could have said that the Kruger dispatch was inspired by me and that it was sent against Hohenlohe's wish and that of Marschall.\* Thus would I have won the applause of the many champions of the cause of absolute despotism. Such an example of self-centred initiative could also not have been without its effect in other circles. But I spoke the truth only and plainly. Since I spoke the truth, truth affording fresh evidence of how sorely I strove to avoid international conflicts, so far as no question of life and death for my country was involved, I am accused of trying to lay on the shoulders of my responsible advisers all the blame for my own political ineptitudes and failures.

#### SOLE DESIRE TO ESTABLISH TRUTH

"In my accounts of events, the thing I had in mind was the establishment of historical facts, not the dismissal or the censure of those who cooperated with

\*The Kruger dispatch was a telegram sent by the Kaiser on Jan. 3, 1896, to Paul Kruger, President of what was then the Transvaal Republic, in South Africa, congratulating him on "preserving the independence of the country against the armed bands which broke into your land." The reference was to the unsuccessful raid led a few days previously by Dr. Jameson at the instigation and with the support of certain British interests hostile to the Transvaal Government.

Prince Hohenlohe was at the time the German Chancellor; Baron Marschall von Bieberstein was the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



me, or my own censure. What had I to gain by libeling my coworkers or my advisers, even if I had been so foolish or unkingly as to want to do that or to try it? I always took upon myself the full responsibility for acts constitutionally devolving upon me, even for acts that did not represent my own views, but those of my advisers. Whenever I gave my consent to a suggestion or to a measure, even if it were not in harmony with my own views, full responsibility for the decision or its consequence naturally rested upon me. From this responsibility no one can free me and I wish to bear it for all time in the presence of my people and in the face of history.

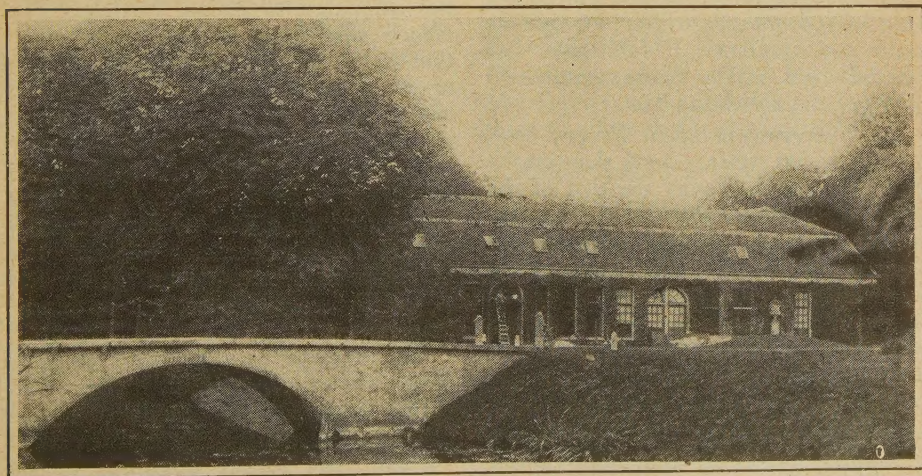
"I have heard that there are people who think I am obsessed by a sort of madness regarding my own infallibility. Those who think so do not know my conception of the world and my critical attitude toward myself. I am as ready to criticize myself as is any seriously thinking man to criticize himself. Naturally, therefore, I am perfectly well aware that my own mistakes are not to be defended by the mistakes of any other mortal who happens, like myself, to be born into a superhumanly difficult sphere of duty.

"The political history of my reign

cannot be written until the wounds of the World War—which despite all formal peace pacts continue to fester with undiminished virulence—are healed, until the state of mind brought on by the war is gone, until the archives of all the participating nations are opened to investigators. Much will indeed prove impossible of investigation. In the literary remains or diaries or memoirs of neither an Isvolsky nor a Sazonov, neither a Clemenceau, a Poincaré nor a Delcassé; neither a Lord Grey, an Asquith nor a Lloyd George—still less a Wilson—could any self-revelations be found, any confessions likely to tear the lying mask from the faces of their policies or themselves.

"Perhaps my book, 'Events and Figures,' made its appearance too soon. I did not want to wait, but to help. I did not think of myself but of my people. Now it will be better understood. Let him who reads it, whoever he be, regard it as, in reality, a weapon of truth against the falsehoods of Versailles!"

The Emperor's conversations with me and with Niemann elucidate his "Historical Tables" and his "Memoirs." The Kaiser is not interested in exculpating himself. He is interested in establishing the facts. "The facts in themselves,"



A picturesque corner of the grounds of Doorn House, the ex-Kaiser's residence near Utrecht, Holland



he asserts in a message to me, "constitute my exculpation."

In all discussions referring to the present German Government and to questions now awaiting decision by the Cabinets of Europe, the Emperor is handicapped to a certain extent by his desire to maintain throughout the dispassionate calm of the historical student and by the reserve imposed upon him by courtesy to his hosts. "I do not," he says, "wish to abandon my reserve by mixing in questions of politics, to take sides, or to set one nation or party against the other."

#### VIEWS OF UNDERLYING CAUSES

The underlying causes of the war, in the Kaiser's opinion, were British trade rivalry, the French desire to regain possession of the ancient German Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and Russia's legitimate hunger for an outlet on the sea. Russia's action was precipitated by her desire to use foreign warfare as a safety valve to prevent an explosion at home. "French investments in Russia," in the Kaiser's own phraseology, "bound Moscow to Paris with a golden chain." Germany, the Kaiser reiterates in his conversations as well as in his writings, had nothing to gain by war. It was, on the contrary, only through war that the Allies could achieve their aim. Germany's geographical position placed her at a disadvantage which armaments could not equalize. It facilitated her "encirclement." The Kaiser impressed upon me the following facts:

"My Government spent 50 per cent. more on social welfare work than on the army and navy. Today the cost of the allied army of occupation exceeds tenfold the expense of what is known as 'German militarism.' The burdens imposed upon the German people by the Treaty of Versailles are such that the entire structure reared for the protection of labor is breaking down.

"The reason Germany prospered in the past was because the Government, demanding sacrifices from both capital and labor in equitable proportions, placed the common weal above both.

Above all, Germany refused to subscribe to the inhuman principle of 'laissez faire' advocated by the Manchester School, a maxim based on the premise that each man and each class must protect its own interests."

In the Prussia of Frederick the Great every man was allowed to "seek Heaven in his own fashion." The same principle prevailed under the old Kaiser. But in the Germany of William II. no man, in his own fashion or otherwise, was permitted to go to the devil.

The Kaiser emphasizes both in his conversations and in his writings the fact that he had repeatedly sought the friendship of England, Russia and France, but that his efforts, hampered by the deficient political sense of the Reichstag, had always resulted in failure. The German Reichstag had no appreciation of international contingencies. "Its delay, chiefly for partisan reasons, in granting the necessary funds for the German Navy, was responsible for the fact that the battle of Skagerack was not a decisive victory," the Kaiser declared to me.

The Kaiser was plagued by party shibboleths. Because Bismarck had said "Germany is saturated" and because he had advised against the risk of "preventive wars," the German Government was condemned to stand by idle while the campaign to isolate Germany continued unchecked. It is quite likely that if the "Iron Chancellor" had lived he would have advised the Kaiser, on more than one occasion, to break through the iron wall against Germany, in the characteristic fashion of Frederick the Great. The Kaiser could, perhaps, have provoked a war by Machiavellian tactics, but his character was such that he abhorred deceit. "I turned my face to the Prince of Peace, not to Mars," he declares.

The German people cannot think in terms of world politics. They completely ignored propaganda, the most powerful weapon of the modern State. "When," the Kaiser remarked to me, "we asked for political funds to be disbursed without accounting, the Reichstag



refused to vote even 500,000 marks." We know today from various official documents the vast amounts Russia spent to corrupt the French press. In Bulgaria, according to information received by the Kaiser from the King of Bulgaria, Russia spent for "educational purposes" 70,000,000 gold rubles. "German statesmen," he said to me, "were not accustomed to calculate in figures, containing more than five or six ciphers. Even Bismarck was amazed when the French indemnity was placed at the modest sum of 5,000,000,000 francs!"

The Kaiser looked on the advances made by England through the medium of Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin as "trickery." Haldane's own admissions seem to confirm this suspicion. "These advances," the Kaiser contends, "were made solely to stop the building of the German Navy. England was unwilling to give anything definite in return unless Germany pledged herself to be her sword on the Continent in a war against Russia."

#### DEFEAT DUE TO UNITED STATES

Germany's ultimate defeat, the Kaiser ascribes to the entrance of America into the war. The United States entered the war, the Kaiser believes, because ex-President Wilson (who had been on various occasions described to him as a "dark and dour Scot"), desired to go down in history as "the greatest living Englishman" of his generation. "Woodrow Wilson," his Majesty infers, "sacrificed American lives to the Moloch of Anglo-Saxon supremacy." Unlike the "associates" of the United States in the war, the Kaiser regards America's part as decisive. "The Allies were admittedly fighting with their backs to the wall," he explained to me. "Without the entrance of America they would have been hopelessly defeated. American manpower, American munitions, American resourcefulness, weighed down the scales heavily in favor of the Entente. Without America, Germany would have won the war. Even with America, Germany came near winning.

"In spite of American aid, however, Germany would have won an honorable peace, a peace without victory and without defeat, and Europe would not now be bankrupt and balkanized if Woodrow Wilson had not deliberately presented to the German people the Trojan horse of his Fourteen Points. Impressed with the high dignity of his august office, they questioned neither his authority nor his good faith. If the German Government had not regarded Woodrow Wilson as the authorized spokesman of 100,000,000 Americans they would not have consigned millions of German men and women to servitude for fourteen scraps of paper.

"The word 'scrap of paper,' by the way, is an English invention. According to Francesco Crispi, the Italian historian, it was first applied to treaties by Lord Salisbury in 1891."

Even with the American armies pouring steadily into Europe, the Kaiser believes, Germany could have won an honorable peace, had it not been for the Socialist "stab in the back." This expression, his Majesty informed me, was not invented by Ludendorff. Its authorship belongs to General Maurice. The Kaiser called my attention to the defeatist campaign of Karl Liebknecht, Bart and others. The *Vorwärts*, the German Socialist organ, frankly avowed in its issue of Oct. 20, 1918:

"Germany must strike her fighting flag forever without having brought it home in triumph for the last time."

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN "SECRET PACT"

For all these statements ample justification is furnished by revelations from (to use the Kaiser's own term) "the chamber of horrors of allied diplomacy." Little convincing proof, however, has been presented until recently of the soundness of the Kaiser's theory that an arrangement similar to the Gentleman's Agreement existing between England and France obligated the United States morally, if not legally, to come to the defense of the



Allies.\* In explaining his position, I draw freely upon the record of my own conversations with Wilhelm II. His Majesty's views were thus expressed:

"The war against Germany began between 1897 and 1898. It reached its climax, but not its final decision, between 1914 and 1918. It has not ended. It cannot end until an equitable and honorable settlement is achieved. The war began with the formation of the Entente Cordiale, the web designed to strangle Germany." The Entente, the Emperor affirms, was strengthened by a "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Great Britain and the United States." This secret agreement "determined the policy of both countries." It "bound America to the chariot of the Entente, without the knowledge or consent of the American people."

A "Gentlemen's Agreement," in the language of Secret Diplomacy, "is a contract drawn loosely enough to be denied, but nevertheless morally binding upon the participants." His Majesty reminded me of a similar secret undertaking between England and France, "concerning which Sir Edward Grey, when questioned in Parliament, lied like a gentleman."

"The history of the secret pact between England and the United States," his Majesty avers, "reaches back to the Spanish-American War. Immediately before the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and the United States England approached Germany with the request for common action to prevent the war. Such an action, under the circumstances, was plainly intercession on behalf of Spain." The Kaiser desired above all a cordial understanding with the great transatlantic Republic. One of his forebears, that "enlightened, if absolute ruler," Frederick the Great, was the first European monarch to recognize the new Commonwealth settled so largely by men and women of German blood. His Majesty's Government politely but firmly refused to sanction any action hostile to the United

States. "The German Government," his Majesty remarked, "favored the preservation of the Spanish Monarchy, but had no desire to weaken America."

British diplomacy, with Machiavelian skill, immediately reversed its position and informed Washington of the project as a German "plot." British finesse apparently succeeded. The Kaiser points out that Lord Cranborne, former Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, admitted in 1902 that Lord Salisbury had conveyed to the American Government the false impression that Germany had proposed to England the formation of an anti-American league, Washington evidently was frightened. W. S. Blunt, his Majesty observes, in "My Diaries," Second Part (London, 1920), says of Lord Salisbury: "He engineered the Anglo-American entente during the Spanish-American War."

If we accept as a fact the Kaiser's theory in regard to a secret pact between the United States and Great Britain, the so-called Dewey-Diederichs incident at Manila suddenly assumes a decidedly novel aspect. "Diederichs and his squadron," his Majesty emphatically states, "were sent to Manila Bay with no hostile intentions. Germany had no designs upon the Philippines." The Kaiser knew that the Philippines would fall "like a ripe plum" into the lap of the United States. He knew that the islands were "essential to the United States against the menace of the East." Admiral Diederichs reported to his Majesty that he had had "no unpleasantness" with Admiral Dewey.

"Evidently," the Kaiser remarked, "the British, in order to raise the bugbear of German hostility, greatly exaggerated the importance of some misunderstanding or incident so trifling that it escaped the memory of Admiral Diederichs. Dewey, prejudiced by previously instilled misinformation, may have seen a threat where no threat was intended. By methods such as these the British Government accelerated the desire of the American Government for a secret pact with Great Britain." Thus

\*This has been positively denied, unofficially, by the Washington authorities.—ED.



John Bull, stretching hands across the sea, "saved" us in 1898 as he "saved" us in 1914!

### "SINISTER LIGHT" OF WILSON DIPLOMACY

To the American citizen these accusations, so calmly expounded, seem monstrous. If true, they mean that treason stalked in high places, that a secret treaty, made under McKinley in times of stress, without the consent of the Senate, without the knowledge of even the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was never revoked by his immediate successors and was carried out to the letter by the late President Wilson. Shocking as these revelations may appear, they are not, his Majesty avers, irreconcilable with the facts. "The one-sided neutrality of the Wilson Administration appears in a new and sinister light. The 'Gentlemen's Agreement' may furnish the key to the mysterious policies of Woodrow Wilson."

"We now understand," his Majesty maintains, "why Ambassador Page delivered Mr. Wilson's notes protesting against the violations of American rights by Great Britain with the sardonic smile of the augur. We comprehend the truculence of Mr. Wilson's notes to Germany. We can perhaps explain the otherwise unaccountable resignation of William Jennings Bryan, Mr. Wilson's Secretary of State, and the alarm of Senator Stone, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations."

We may also infer from the Kaiser's hypothesis the secret motive for the sudden reversal of Theodore Roosevelt. "Between his first article asserting that Germany's invasion of Belgium was no ground for America's interference and his complete change of front shortly afterward, some one may have reminded Mr. Roosevelt of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' concluded by his predecessor and never rescinded by him!"

When Mr. Roosevelt began his violent denunciation of Germany the present writer asked him for an explanation.

Mr. Roosevelt invited him to his office for a confidential chat. He then declared that he had received positive information of a contemplated German attack on the United States. He showed me among his papers an alleged plan of the German General Staff, signed by some obscure General, a plan subsequently published in the press.

His Majesty informs me that the "plan" was a forgery. The German Kaiser, not only in theory but in fact, was head of the German Army. Every plan of the German General Staff was submitted to him. "Never," His Majesty assured me, "was any plan for military or naval action against the United States prepared or even contemplated. The so called German plan for an attack upon the United States was evidently a British fabrication to bolster up the allied plea for action by the United States upon the basis of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement.' Perhaps the American Government had become shaky, in view of the powerful opposition, against American participation in a war which, according to your President's official announcement, did not concern you."

If we may trust the revelations of Tumulty, whose book has been carefully examined by the Kaiser, Woodrow Wilson was determined from the first to come, if need be, to the rescue of England. He did not dare to show his hand until he had succeeded in "educating" public opinion. Every action of his Administration, in the Kaiser's opinion, was bent toward that end. "Hence," his Majesty suggests, "the suppression by Secretary Lansing of the British order declaring the North Sea a war area, which antedated the German delineation of a similar zone. Hence the blindness to British recruiting on American territory. Hence the tame submission to the British blockade of the United States."

The Kaiser is an omnivorous reader. He has not overlooked the historical dialogue between President Wilson and a Committee of the United States Senate. Mr. Wilson, it will be remembered, in response to an inquiry from one of the



members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, cheerfully admitted that the United States would have entered the war, even if Germany had never inaugurated unrestricted submarine warfare.

His Majesty's hypothesis does not rest entirely upon internal evidence. Shortly after the conclusion of the alleged "Gentlemen's Agreement," an American of high official standing, whose name is known to me (the late Senator Davis of Minnesota), enraged by what seemed to him a violation of the Constitution, informed a German friend whom I know personally and who is still living in the United States, of the deal. The news was transmitted by Ambassador von Holleben to the Foreign Office and pigeon-holed there until recently unearthed by the Kaiser. Not long ago the Kaiser's one-time informant reminded the monarch of the warning then given. Inquiries followed, and the fact was established that the information had been duly received in 1898.

"If even a hint of the agreement had reached me," the Kaiser remarked, "it would have been possible to shape German policy accordingly. Its exposure in the American press would have changed the course of history, since there is no question that the American people would have repudiated such an agreement, no matter how 'gentlemanly' drawn, with the same indignation and vehemence with which Woodrow Wilson and his League of Nations were thrown into the discard."

#### "PACT" CONFIRMED BY USHER REVELATIONS

The Kaiser cites especially Professor Roland G. Usher, a political expert frequently consulted by the State Department. Usher let the cat out of the bag through his book, "Pangermanism," published in February, 1913, in which he admitted the existence of a secret pact between France and the English-speaking nations against Germany and Austria-Hungary. In Chapter X. of "Pangermanism," Usher states (pages 139-140):

Once the magnitude of Pan-Germanism

dawned on the English and French diplomats, once they became aware of the lengths to which Germany was willing to go, they realized the necessity of strengthening their position, and therefore made overtures to the United States, which resulted, probably before the Summer of the year 1897, in an understanding between the three countries. There seems to be no doubt whatever that no papers of any sort were signed, and that no pledges were given which circumstances would not justify any one of the contracting parties in denying or possibly repudiating. Nevertheless, an understanding was reached that in case of a war begun by Germany or Austria for the purpose of executing Pan-Germanism, the United States would promptly declare in favor of England and France and would do her utmost to assist them.

The mere fact that no open acknowledgment of this agreement was then made need not lessen its importance and significance. The alliance (for it was nothing less) was based upon infinitely firmer ground than written words and sheets of parchment, than the promises of individuals at that moment in office in any one of the three countries. It found its efficient cause as well as the efficient reason for its continuance in the situation, geographical, economic and political, of the contracting nations which made such an agreement mutually advantageous to them all. So long as this situation remains unchanged, there is little likelihood that the agreement will be altered, and there is no possibility whatever of its entire rejection by one of the three parties, least of all by the United States.

These words were quoted by the Emperor more than once in his discussions with me on this topic. "It should be remembered," he stated to me, "that these lines were penned at least one year and a half before the outbreak of the European War and almost half a decade before the entrance into the war of the United States." Not her strategic position, Usher remarked of the United States, nor her military strength, but her economic position made her an ally particularly indispensable to England and France. To quote further from "Pangermanism":

While her population is not yet numerous enough to make her dangerous, it is none the less amply sufficient to render her in potential military strength one of the greatest of civilized countries. She possesses, in fact, precisely what England and France lack—



almost inexhaustible natural resources; arable land almost without limit; food sufficient to feed all Europe; great deposits of gold, copper, iron, silver, coal; great supplies of cotton sufficient for the Lancashire cotton mills; in short, she possesses the very resources needed to make the economic position of England and France fairly impregnable.

Allied with her, they could not be starved into submission nor bankrupted by the lack of materials to keep their looms running. In addition, she possesses the second greatest steel manufactory in the world, which owns the patents and the secret processes upon which Bessemer steel depends, a product surpassed for war materials only by the Krupp steel. The width of the Atlantic effectively prevents any interference by European powers with the continuance in time of war of her agricultural and industrial activities. Whatever happens in Europe, she can continue to produce the raw materials and finished products they need, and, what is more, important, she will furnish them in time of war a huge market for the sale of such manufactured goods as they can continue to make.

The United States, furthermore, is the third financial power in the world. Not only is her wealth vast, not only is her surplus capital considerable, but the organization of business has, most fortunately from the point of view of international politics, concentrated the control of the available capital for investment in the hands of comparatively few men. The trusts, the banks and the insurance companies have made available for investment huge sums, only less in size than those controlled in London and Paris. It is highly essential that Germany should not be allowed to establish relations with any such capital. It would provide her with precisely that financial backing which she needs. At all costs, the United States and Germany must be kept apart.

The Kaiser calls attention to the following passage in Usher's book (pages 147-148):

Fortunately for England and France, the United States, whose economic assistance is positively imperative for them, finds their assistance equally imperative. In the first place, the United States depends upon the English merchant marine to carry her huge volume of exports, and, should she not be able to use it, would suffer seriously, even if the inability to export continued only a few weeks. Again, a market as certain and as large as that of England and France for her raw materials and food is absolutely essential to her, and the outbreak of a war, which

might close those markets to her, would precipitate unquestionably a financial crisis, whose results could not fail to equal in destructiveness the effect upon private individuals of a great war.

These are the passages to which the Kaiser refers. There are many other points of interest in Usher's book, such as his prediction that the United States would not enter the war except under certain contingencies, but would "confine her efforts to the exceedingly important work, both to her allies and to herself, of keeping open the Atlantic highway and of protecting the merchant marine of England."

Professor Usher, in a formal speech delivered on Oct. 1, 1923, at the George Washington University in St. Louis, reaffirmed his original revelations and admitted the truth of the Kaiser's sensational charge, made in his [the Kaiser's] book and amplified in his conversations with me, that Woodrow Wilson was responsible for leading us into war in accordance with an agreement of long standing between the Government of the United States and the powers of the Entente.

#### "PACT" ALSO EXPLAINS ALLIED POLICY

"The hypothesis of a 'Gentlemen's Agreement,'" the Kaiser declares, explains not only the policy of the American Government but also the policy of the Allies. It explains why England played with Germany as a cat with a mouse, why France refused again and again the proffered hand of the Kaiser; why the Allies rejected Germany's peace offer, even when catastrophe overwhelmed their armies. It also explains the Allies' angry impatience, their ill-mannered irritation, when America was slow to come in."

When the Kaiser's "Memoirs" appeared, most of the newspapers pointed out that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" charged by the Kaiser could not exist under the Constitution of the United States. This argument, he believes, has been completely overthrown by the startling revelations made by the Amer-



ican historian, Tyler Dennett, at the Institute of Politics, at Williamstown, Mass., on Aug. 7, 1924, when it was asserted, on the authority of President Roosevelt, that a secret agreement existed with the Japanese Government making the United States virtually a member of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.\* Roosevelt, Mr. Dennett said, threatened war on Germany and France if either power assumed to interfere against Japan. Although John Van Antwerp MacMurray, Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State, denied that the "agreed memorandum" constitutes a treaty, he did not deny its existence.

#### ROOSEVELT "PACT" WITH JAPAN ANALOGOUS

"If," the Kaiser commented, "Mr. Roosevelt could pledge the United States to go to war for Japan, Mr. Roosevelt's successors could pledge the United States to come to the aid of the Allies. The same agreement, or a modification thereof, which made the United States, without the knowledge and consent of the Senate and of the responsible officials of the State Department, a member of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance could easily be stretched to obligate the United States to intercede on behalf of the Allies in the World War." In the interest of historical truth, an investigation by the United States Senate throwing open not only the official files of the State Department but the private archives of our Presidents and Secretaries of State seems to the Kaiser appropriate. It is of importance not only to the American people but to the world at large, he contends, to learn "whether the American Government or an American President can by secret diplomacy commit the American people to war." Mr. MacMurray's description of the agreement between Roosevelt and Japan is an exact definition of what is

known as a "Gentlemen's Agreement" in the language of diplomacy. Mr. MacMurray says:

The Roosevelt memorandum of 1905 is one of the most interesting executive understandings which has been brought to my attention. I deprecate, however, any attempt to define or interpret it as a secret obligation of the United States Government. Of course, it was in no sense a treaty.

It was a wholly personal understanding as to the attitude which President Roosevelt, in the exercise of his executive discretion, was prepared to take under given circumstances; and, important as it was in determining the relationship of this country to Far Eastern questions then at issue, its importance lay not in the fact that it bound our Government to anything but in the fact that the Chief Executive had definitely formulated the policy upon which he might be counted to act.

#### PAN-GERMANISM A BRITISH INVENTION

"The bugbear of 'Pan-Germanism,'" William II. vigorously maintains, "is purely a Franco-British invention. 'Pan-Germanism' never dominated the German Government. It never threatened the serenity of America's ways. The Hohenzollern dynasty never desired world hegemony. Its scions did not even aspire to be masters of Europe in the approved Napoleonic fashion imitated by Poincaré. Two Princes of the house of Hohenzollern, Frederick the Iron and the Great Elector, refused the throne of Poland, stating: 'We are German Princes. It is difficult enough to rule the Germans!'" [Here the ex-Kaiser sadly smiled.] "We have no desire to rule the earth."

The difficulties of German rulers are immemorial. The Kaiser loves to tell, in a fashion that holds his audience enthralled, the story of the famous battle between the Germans and the Romans under Emperor Julian: "The Roman legions were beset by the Germans. The battle raged for three days. The Roman troops were exhausted, their Captain dispirited. However, the German armies, too, were grumbling. They complained that they were bearing the brunt of the battle on foot, while their princes, on horseback, escaped some of their hard-

\*Mr. Dennett in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY amplified his statement, and in addition reproduced the actual document, hitherto secret, in which the understanding between the United States and Japan was embodied.



ships. Mutiny rose in the ranks. 'Down from the horses,' they shouted. The princes were compelled to dismount, their followers failing to realize that horseless leaders could not survey the field. The din rising from the German ranks frightened the Romans. 'Caesar,' the Roman Legate, remarked, 'Give the sign to retreat. The awful sound from the camp of the Barbarians denotes that they are gathering all their strength for a last attack, an attack we are unable to meet.' But a subtle smile illuminated the sickly pallor of Caesar's face. 'On the contrary,' he replied, 'it means I have won the battle. The Germans are quarreling among themselves.'

The German Empire, the Kaiser contends, was the "centre weight" in the complicated clockwork of Europe. "Disturb that weight," he insists, "and the clock must stop. Restore that weight, oil the machinery, replace the missing parts, and I guarantee order in Europe within six months. Until this is accomplished the time is, and will remain, out of joint. No restoration is complete until all territory indisputably German is united with Germany."

#### ABDICATION DUE TO "TRICKERY"

The Allies would never, the Kaiser insists, have dared to offer to the German Empire the terms they imposed upon the German Republic. As to his abdication, he ascribes that to trickery: "I could not know that the men charged with the peace negotiations, notably Prince Max von Baden, had obtained no substantial guarantees that the Allies and Associated Powers would deal more generously with a German Republic than with the Germany of William II. I could not know then that the four material points were merely propaganda material elicited from the fertile pen of Woodrow Wilson by one of his publicity men without the slightest sense of responsibility on the part of their sponsor. What should I have done? I was told by my responsible advisers that my surrender of the throne would assure honorable peace at home and

abroad. I was told that my presence in Germany would mean the continuance of bloody war at the front and bloodshed at home. I was informed that the army could no longer be trusted. I was told that, in case the army refused to accept the settlement of the Berlin Government, all trains carrying rations would be stopped. Can any one picture the condition of ten million men under arms consigned to starvation by their own people? My correspondence with Hindenburg bears witness to the fact that even the great Field Marshal advised me to drain the bitter cup of exile and abdication."

What, I asked myself, should William II. have done? Should he have made a last dash with a picked guard of faithful adherents? But a dash to what end? Under the circumstances such an act would have simply prolonged the war by a few hours at the cost of so many thousand lives. It would have been futile slaughter. The Kaiser who hated war, who did not wish to spill the blood of his enemies, could not take it upon himself to shed one drop of German blood merely to secure an effective exit.

What should the Kaiser have done? Sought death by his own hand? Neither Napoleon I., nor Napoleon III., nor Louis XVI., King of France, nor the great German Emperor Henry IV., chose the theatrical solution of suicide. The Kaiser's deeply rooted religious convictions made the thought of self-destruction abhorrent to him. "Princes and soldiers," he once remarked to me, "are not afraid of death. Their lives are constantly in jeopardy." Von Ilse-mann, his faithful aide-de-camp, told me of more than one occasion where his master, instead of remaining securely lodged behind the lines, had exposed himself to the enemy's fire. He called to my mind especially several occasions on the Eastern front. It was no fear of death that determined the Kaiser to go on living. "It is not hard to die," he said to me, "it is sometimes much harder to live. Suicide on my part would have been accepted by my foes



as a confession of guilt. I and my people are innocent of this war. I regard it as the most solemn obligation imposed upon me by fate to clear the name of my country." The "Historical Tables," the "Events and Figures" and the Niemann book are shots in the battle for vindication.

The Kaiser's view of the Peace Treaty of Versailles has undergone no modification. It cannot be "revised," but must be, he holds, completely demolished: "Only after the poisonous rubbish of Versailles is cleared away entirely will it be possible to build anew. The remnants of the Peace Treaty remaining behind vitiate every subsequent agreement. Europe will be a festering sore, until that ulcer is completely eradicated."

#### THE DAWES PLAN ENSLAVES GERMANY

The Dawes agreement he is inclined to look upon as "a second Versailles." It is "impossible of execution. It may temporarily mitigate certain economic ills, but it saps almost beyond recovery the patient's power of resistance. Germany under the agreement is compelled to sign her own death warrant as a free nation. The German Republic has been lured into the Dawes trap and at the same time forced into it. There is a touch of the two manners. England is playing her part in the hypocrisy. She confesses that the Dawes report is a scandal. Never again will she play so mean a trick upon Germany, if it fails this time! For the time being, therefore, Germany must sign her own death warrant, soothed by the assurance that England will not ask another such favor. Naturally not, for Germany will have been executed, done to death, doomed to eternal slavery! It is all just like the scene between Mime and Siegfried in front of the Fafner abyss. The hero has slain the dragon. Mime would press the fatal potion upon him, imploring the hero's sword at the same time. The hero asks what the other would do with the weapon. 'I only wish,' he is told, 'to cut your head off with it.'"

There are many who can see the only possible salvation for Germany in a dictatorship or in a restoration of monarchy. This is a subject on which the Kaiser vouchsafes no opinion. He is "not informed" on the plans of monarchists. He is inclined to place the safety of his country above the fortunes of his dynasty."

The League of Nations does not, he fears, hold out a promise of salvation. "It is," he says, "too intimately associated with the Peace Treaty of Versailles. No such arrangement, no world court, can eliminate war. I detest war. I have kept the peace of Europe on at least two occasions, when the chances were in our favor, when England was engaged in the Transvaal and Russia in the Far East. Nevertheless, I can not escape the conclusion that war will be on earth as long as heaven does not create more rabbits than men."

The Kaiser's experience is such that he does not look upon the Washington Conference or similar meetings as "sincere or effective efforts to end war." Such conferences partake of the nature of "humbug." They are the "Barnum shows of diplomacy." Everybody "talks peace, and continues to arm." A subsequent conference would merely be "a case of history, the old plagiarizer, repeating itself."

He does not think that recent elections in the Entente countries mean a more moderate attitude toward Germany. "Germany can be saved," he declares, "only if she saves herself. She gains no advantage by joining a League of Nations or the World Court, as constituted at present. Nations, like individuals, depend in the last analysis on organized strength, not on organized weakness."

Russia is destined to play a momentous part in the development of events, the Kaiser believes, but he refuses to discuss the question of the recognition of the Soviet Government. These are matters which he feels he is "not entitled to discuss. They must be left in the hands of those who are at present the responsible rulers of Europe."



# The League of Nations in Action

By DENYS P. MYERS

Corresponding Secretary of the World Peace Foundation

THE Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which opened at Geneva on Sept. 1, was a fine example of progressive development. The Covenant had been made in 1919 and for two years the Assembly had devoted itself to setting up machinery under it. Then, for two years more, the League carried on its business. During this period numerous States showed restlessness under the League's restraints. Without fully realizing it, apparently, these States found that they had agreed to do some proper things that they would, for the moment, at least, be just as well satisfied not to do. They came to the Fifth Assembly with a fair realization of the nature of the machinery of which they had become a part and determined to do their best in the road in which they had chosen to travel. They all left Geneva highly satisfied with the result and well convinced that they were launched on a course of progress that offered better hope than the national particularism of their former choice.

That was essentially the net result, and fundamentally the significance of progress in respect to armament limitation. In reality, as Premier MacDonald said on Sept. 4: "We do not want a new foundation." But "what we require now is that the Covenant itself should be elaborated. Before it is elaborated it ought to be understood." Premier Herriot sounded the same note the following day when he said: "It is by thinking over and putting into force the articles of this solemn instrument that France seeks for the rules which are to guide her future action and her foreign policy." Such ideas, voiced and repeated at the opening of the ses-

sion, were a veritable text for the proceedings, which showed a friendly rivalry between the nations to show who could best live up to the Covenant, alike in letter and in spirit.

Undoubtedly the Fifth Assembly set a new standard in the relations of member States toward the League. Half a dozen heads of States led their delegations; almost every delegation had a foreign minister or a former foreign minister among its members; a dozen out of forty-nine delegations, a quarter of the whole, included the parliamentary opposition among their representatives. If ever there was a place where substance and doctrine as expressed could be said to be authentic, that place was Geneva in September, 1924. It was the first time that Premiers had headed their delegations; it was the general feeling that henceforth they would need a very good excuse not to do so. Moreover, it was found that Geneva at Assembly time was so effective a place to attract the world's attention, that it is certain to be the mecca of any Premier with a public idea.

When the Assembly was over, it was the prevailing idea in Geneva that great progress had been achieved by making the best use of what the League States already possessed. The Assembly began in a fervor for new ideas, with the MacDonald-Herriot speeches of amity and hopefulness, and the American committee definition of aggression as a refusal to arbitrate. It ended in the conviction that all those ideas were implicit already in Article XII. of the Covenant and that they had really been engaged in putting into force its principle that some form of impartial con-



sideration must occur before a dispute could justifiably lead to hostilities. Once they had discovered that they could not go backward against the Covenant, they went forward, and the actual document prepared by the Assembly apparently marks the end of sabotaging the judicial process in international relations, at least by the forty-nine States which actually participated in the Assembly. Five more accepted the developments of the Assembly by abstention.

Real progress was recorded as a result of the application of the Covenant. For years the political scientist has seen that the proper relation between armament and methods of pacific settlement was that of the two tubes of a U-thermometer. If more disputes were settled by stipulated pacific methods, then there would be fewer of them to settle by armament, which ought, consequently, to be reduced. But the effort to develop both went forward in airtight compartments. After all the criticism of the French thesis of "security," it is only fair to emphasize that the best French statesmen have never lost sight of that relationship. It may be worth all the controversy of the last two years to have settled it that armament goes down as courts go up!

The Fifth Assembly determined in League history that the Covenant is the basis of its future development; that it has, in a way, become the constitutional starting point of international practice. So far as could be judged, it also determined that effective international co-operation is a cardinal policy among League States.

A sharp contrast brought about in a single year was witnessed by the Assembly on Sept. 20. A year before, Italy had brought the Corfu crisis before the Assembly. In the interval she had not only relinquished the political substance of her contentions but had acquiesced in a legal report declaring her contentions to have been wrong. At that time Salandra sat alone, biting his finger nails, actually afraid to speak in an Assembly thoroughly hostile to the

cause he pleaded. This year he announced, amid the plaudits of his peers, that Italy and Switzerland had signed a treaty by which "henceforth all possibility of conflict is eliminated between them." The Assembly in a resolution expressed its lively satisfaction at this act, which it characterized, amid applause, as in conformity with the spirit of the League.

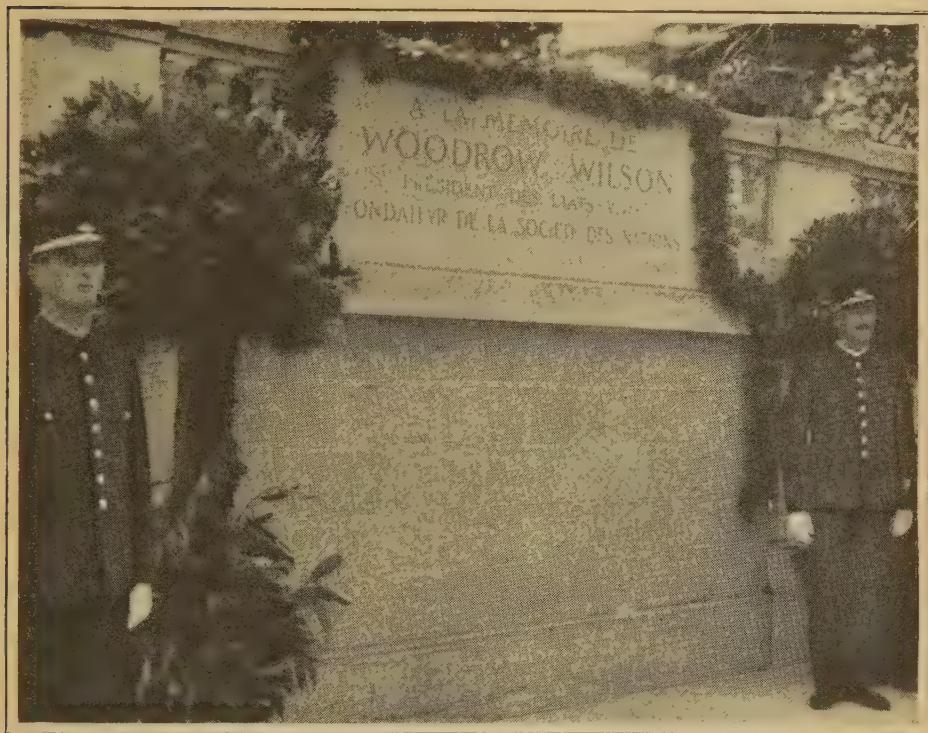
#### AMERICAN PEACE PLAN

The protocols on armament and pacific settlement are destined to have a literature of their own. Some of the circumstances attending their elaboration relate intimately to the history of the Fifth Assembly. They were in the air from the start; in fact, before the start. The coming of MacDonald and Herriot to Geneva had created a feeling of expectation. Then the "American plan," worked out by Messrs. Shotwell, Miller and their collaborators, was not only well known but had its principal authors, including General Tasker H. Bliss, on the spot. Having been circulated by the Council to member States, it was practically an official document and its sponsors were virtually delegates ad hoc of American opinion. Mr. McDonald regarded it as one of the preparatory studies.

The salient contribution of the Americans was the rephrasing of the definition of AGGRESSION as *the refusal to arbitrate*. They departed after the first week, but they left that idea firmly imbedded in the Geneva mind. The Premiers left behind them four words: ARBITRATION, SECURITY, DISARMAMENT and CONFERENCE. On Sept. 6 the Assembly passed all these ideas to its first and third committees, the one legal and the other devoted entirely to armament. By Sept. 20 President Motta was able to announce that all other work of the Assembly committees was finished. Discussion of all remaining questions was cut to a minimum, and the strongest pressure of interest was put upon those two committees to present their findings.

The first and third committees had





Gilliams

The plaque in memory of Woodrow Wilson, placed by the City of Geneva on the wall of the terrace of the League of Nations Palace at Geneva. The inscription reads: "To the Memory of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, founder of the League of Nations—The City of Geneva."

not been delaying. They missed meals, they worked in subcommittees through the night. Best of all, throughout the whole period of drafting the texts, there was nothing but the most loyal cooperation. There was no voicing of mutual suspicions in the corridors, no nationalistic incidents, nothing to create a diversion and to prevent the concentration of attention upon the inherent difficulties and importance of the problems the experts were trying to bring to solution. The "team work" was perfect. The spirit was beyond criticism. No one bargained except to make the result better. No existing international document has taken form in such an atmosphere of good-will.

The final week of September saw the whole preparatory period blossom into fruit. The protocol was made public in the Third Commission on Sept. 23 by

Foreign Minister Benès of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the subcommittee charged with elaborating it. Support of it was assured, because the States chiefly concerned had been represented on the subcommittee. Nevertheless, the project as reported out by the "twelve"—Benès of Czechoslovakia, Parmoor of Great Britain, Boncour of France, Schanzer of Italy, Branting of Sweden, Villegas of Chile, Kalkoff of Bulgaria, Poulet of Belgium, Titulesco of Rumania, Matsuda of Japan, Lange of Norway and Skrzynski of Poland—underwent a rigorous study and criticism in committee, even by its makers.

Meanwhile the first committee, which was still wrestling with the means of getting arbitration into the key position intended for it in the plan, was exerting itself to enable the Assembly to complete its work. In some respects



this was more of a stumbling block than the merely military side of the project; for States given to jealousy of their right to decide their own cases found it extremely difficult to envisage a system wherein a review of questions unsettled by their own diplomacy became arbitrable as a matter of course and as a binding obligation. The best augury for their success was the absence of all the old arguments on the subject. No one who knew the past history of arbitration and who followed the proceedings could doubt that the principle of judicial settlement had won the day, even if it had not won all the skirmishes.

The one place in the Assembly where cooperation was lacking for a time was in the business of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. On July 24 the French Government had offered the committee "through the intermediary of the League" the money and accommodations "for the foundation and proper working of the future International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation." The committee had welcomed this offer, the Council had approved it in principle and turned it over to the Assembly to accept. In the Second Commission a marked opposition to the French offer manifested itself. There was a suspicion of the ability of the French to allow the work to be undertaken on an international basis. There was a real question of principle in the dissemination of League organs. Nevertheless the gift could not be refused and, surrounded with safeguards for League control, it was accepted.

Intellectual cooperation needs an administrator. In past years the committee, instead of fighting for adequate funds in the League budget, allowed itself to be starved by the financial experts of the Assembly who for League, Labor Office and Permanent Court spend just about enough annually to buy a torpedo boat destroyer. Then it appealed to the world to give it what it had not had through ordinary channels. But it took no thought of what difficulties would be raised by

such a gift; and, looking the gift in the face, it had to lay down its conditions under rather ungracious circumstances. Nevertheless the Italian Government on Sept. 26 made public an offer to establish an institute for legal studies, so that the prevision of the committee has not to date proved a deterrent to its work.

#### CODIFYING INTERNATIONAL LAW

On the other hand an amelioration of an international sore spot was begun. One of the American arguments of apparent potency against the League was that it did not devote itself to the development of international law. Codification was held up as the way to peace. The question was considered in the First Assembly and not decided on, the reason being that codification was a slow process and that, by serving as intermediary for the making of treaties on international subjects, the League was in fact codifying the law that was ripe for the purpose. This year the report on the progress of international conventions and engagements under League auspices showed twenty-four sets of treaties negotiated through the League's intervention.

This year also the Swedish delegation, feeling that the main lines of codification had been blocked out in the work already done, introduced a resolution calling on the Council to invite suggestions as to "the items or subjects of international law, public or private, which may be usefully examined with a view to their incorporation in international conventions \* \* \* in order to enable the League of Nations to contribute in the largest possible measure to the development of international law." The resolution passed on Sept. 22 contemplates conferences on the subjects which promise fruitful discussion.

Ever since the report of the Committee of Experts to the Reparation Commission on April 9, the entrance of Germany into the League has been seriously discussed. A first step toward that eventuality was taken when Great



Britain raised in the Council last July the question of League control over the armaments of Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary as contemplated by the treaties. The system worked out for them would be a pattern for the conditions applicable to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and as a member of the League. The inspection of her military resources now going on is the final one by the victorious States. The signing of the London protocol on Aug. 16 still further blazed the way. MacDonald and Herriot in their Assembly speeches held out an encouragement previously lacking.

#### GERMANY'S PLAN TO ENTER LEAGUE

What Germany would do remained uncertain through three-quarters of the Assembly. There were Germans at Geneva. Count Bernstorff, for instance, made an address to the Federation of League of Nations Societies in which he discussed the subject with entire frankness. But neither he nor the other Germans present were authorized to speak. On Sept. 23 the German Cabinet discussed the question, and the same day the Government issued the following official communiqué:

The question of German's entry into the League of Nations was thoroughly discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the efforts of the German Government should be directed toward Germany's entrance into the League in the near future.

The Government's standpoint in this respect is prompted by consideration that the questions dealt with by the League of Nations, especially the protection of minorities, the regulation of conditions in the Sarre region, general disarmament in connection with carrying out military control and the paramount questions of the safety and peaceful cooperation of the nations, can be solved satisfactorily only with Germany's collaboration.

Germany's collaboration could, of course, be only that of a great power on equal footing with the other nations.

As the solution of the reparation question achieved at the London Conference opened, in the opinion of the nations chiefly concerned, the way for Germany to the practical treatment of the question of Germany's entry into the League, discussions in this respect were

begun after the conclusion of the London Conference. The result of these soundings has been taken as the basis of today's decision of the Government.

In execution of this decision the Government will, through the Foreign Office, seek definite enlightenment from the nations who are members of the League as to whether the guarantee required by Germany, prior to her application to enter the League, will be given relative both to Germany's position in the League and to the other questions intimately connected therewith.

Declarations by the French and British Governments issued after the adjournment of the Assembly of the League indicated that the German conditions would be met and that Germany would be admitted to full membership in the League as a member of the Permanent Council on an equal status with the other powers.

Almost as interesting in its way was the application on Sept. 25 of the Dominican Republic for admission. Until this year that country's Government was in charge of the United States. In view of national policy, the officer of the Marine Corps in charge of the Dominican Foreign Office did not apply for admission to the League. But the Dominican Foreign Minister took the first opportunity to do so, though he waited until after Germany moved.

Though no question of importance delayed the Dominican application, the German intention served to emphasize the fact that Geneva is almost a continuous conference. It was readily seen that the two opium conferences beginning on Nov. 15 and formally budgeted for by this Assembly would come to a close at about the time when the German application would be made and be ripe for action. The simplicity of holding an Assembly for the German case at once pointed the way to setting the stage for the armament conference next June in such a way as to make it a meeting with the greatest possible chances of success.

Another instance of how one satisfactory step led this year at Geneva to another must be recorded. Two years ago the Austrian protocols were signed.



Since then, monthly reports on Austrian finances have kept an interested world informed of a remarkable piece of rehabilitation. This year Chancellor Seipel, his Foreign Minister and his Finance Minister came to Geneva to ask for more freedom and continued support. Having established her national finances on a sound basis, Austria now seeks commercial development. She requested modifications in the system of budgetary control looking to its suppression, in such a manner that Austria might attract industrial capital.

#### REHABILITATING AUSTRIA'S FINANCES

An agreement was signed, approved by the Council and noted by the Assembly declaring that financial stability will have been established if the budget for 1926 is based on the same total figures as that for 1925, which must remain within the limits established by the Financial Committee. The Commissioner General's control is to relax as soon as certain measures for the attraction of capital are applied. Among the reforms specified are the reduction of bank, exchange and corporation taxes, the establishment of a discount policy to insure stability of the crown, and the establishment of a coinage based on gold.

The Assembly of the League controls the purse strings. It votes really three budgets, but really controls only two. The Permanent Court of International Justice is the exception, its national quotas merely being paid through the League financial administration. On Aug. 13, 1924, an amendment to Article 6 of the covenant giving it the right to fix the allocation of expenses entered into force. The Supervisory Commission reported to the Assembly that the scheme of allocating expenses, based on a combination index of national resources, ought to remain in force for another year, pending the completion of studies under way for its revision. Under the operation of the scheme the budgetary arrears of member States has steadily decreased, amounting to only 4,701,000 gold francs, two-fifths of which is owing by China which, since

its omission from the Council, has complained of its assessment. Argentina paid last June all its quotas since 1919. The status of the accounts was probably as satisfactory as it is likely to be at any given moment, since the widely differing times for voting budgets in the world make some apparent delays inevitable unless budgeting in advance is practiced.

Last year there was a distinct drive on the budget. A process of reduction was pursued with vigor, even if the result was not extensive. This year there was a tendency to increase appropriations, particularly for special organizations or for special bits of work. As it was, however, the budget showed a reduction, largely owing to decreased appropriations for the working capital fund. The total for 1925 stands at about 21,500,000 gold francs, or \$4,150,000. Of that amount about 11,000,000 gold francs, or \$2,123,000, actually goes to the operation of the League.

Only one actual cut not indicated by fiscal experience was put through this year. The incident is one that should interest Americans. The library of an institution like the League is the informational heart of the thing, so far as all the research required for its services goes. The library was organized and maintained up to the present in accordance with American library standards, which are admired by Europeans but not paid for by them. A card catalogue, especially, is regarded as an extravagance. In its report this year the Supervisory Commission, "while expressing its appreciation of the excellent organization of the library, \* \* \* is of opinion that the work might be simplified." It recommended a reduction of one-quarter in the appropriation.

#### "BILL OF HEALTH" GIVEN HUNGARY

Two matters particularly interesting to Americans were before the Assembly. Jeremiah Smith, the Commissioner General in Hungary, came to Geneva to report upon his work and got an exceedingly clean bill of health. The resolution of Sept. 11 recorded that "the

reconstruction of another European country is being successfully achieved." The Assembly believed "that the association of the countries in cooperative work of this kind reflects an improvement in political relations," and it found cause to congratulate all concerned in it, including Hungary.

Though the opium conferences, one of opium-producing States and the other for revision of the 1912 convention, were decided upon last year, the Assembly this year passed a resolution intended to facilitate their work. The suppression of poppy growing in China has not been satisfactory, and the slowness of Switzerland in ratifying the 1912 convention has left Basle free to export drugs. Both circumstances were commented on in a resolution passed on Sept. 20.

The Assembly passed a proposal to take up active consideration of a project by Senator Ciraola, President of the Italian Red Cross, to negotiate a convention to provide for methods of assisting those affected by great calamities. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was finally released from his labors on behalf of refugees which he had pursued through several years. On his recommendation the remaining task was turned over to the International Labor Office, since it is now largely a matter of employment.

Social questions of various kinds regularly come before the League. Slavery occupied considerable interest in the Fifth Assembly because of the report of a temporary commission which had been studying the problem and which had found it far more complicated than had been supposed. A full program of activity of the commission was approved.

#### DECLARATION ON CHILD WELFARE

The International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare has been taken under the auspices of the League within the past year. The Assembly adopted a resolution which should command universal support. This "declaration of the rights of the child" enunciates the following principles:

I. The child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

II. The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succored.

III. The child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

IV. The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood; and must be protected against every point of exploitation.

V. The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow-men.

Besides the Armament Conference, the Fifth Assembly initiated measures to convene only one international conference. The great development of wireless communication has rendered the 1912 convention on radiotelegraphy quite out of date. New regulations have been studied by a section of the League and the adoption of the communications and transit resolutions confirmed the committee's view of the urgency of the matter.

Questions of the most diverse character come before the Assembly. To study these six committees were appointed this year, as in the past. Each member State is represented on each committee, so that it is indicated in advance whether a proposal should be carried to the plenary body. Since the real work is done in committee, it is not without significance that the chairmen are mostly from small States. Australia, Panama, Rumania, Japan, Denmark and Finland were so honored this year, while another small State, Switzerland, furnished the President of the Assembly in the person of Giuseppe Motta.

The larger States have formed the habit of sitting in the ranks of the fifty-four States so as to avoid any implication of controlling the proceedings. This was especially noticeable in the Agenda Committee, which decides what to do with new proposals not included in the advance program. Australia, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia and Siam furnished the



members of this committee, which had less to do this year than in the past.

The Fifth Assembly gave every indication of a smoothly running machine. From year to year the delegates are about the same personalities. Political changes at home make changes in the heads of delegations, and some prominent persons were absent for that reason this year. The smaller States are less subject to violent political shifts than the larger ones, so that the majority of members of their delegations continue. The ladies are especially constant. Mlle. Bonnevie of Norway, Mlle. Forchhammer of Denmark, Mlle. Bugge-Wicksell of Sweden have attended every Assembly, and Mlle. Vacaresco of Rumania is not far behind. Lord Cecil of Chelwood was not at Geneva this year, but Professor Gilbert Murray, Dr. Nansen, Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, M. Loudon and many more who used to support him were present.

#### COUNCIL ELECTION

The following nations were elected to be non-permanent members of the Council of the League: Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Sweden and Uruguay; China being omitted. The omission of China was resented when the election was announced and the entire Chinese delegation left the auditorium, explaining that they did so under orders from Peking to walk out of the Assembly if China was not elected to a non-permanent seat. It was, however, afterward stated that this did not imply that China would reach a definite conclusion as to whether or not she would retain membership in the League.

Before the League adjourned the protocol was signed by Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Esthonia, Poland and Latvia. The admission of the other States is subject to parliamentary ratification.

The Assembly on Oct. 2, before its adjournment, adopted a resolution laying down a provisional program as a basis for the Council's preparation for

the projected international conference on the reduction of armaments, planned for convocation in June, 1925. Among the items suggested for study are the bases and methods for the reduction of armaments, including budgets, peacetime effectives, tonnage of naval strength and air fleets, population and configuration of frontiers. The program also includes the study of the special positions of certain States, especially those exposed to special risks, in relation to disarmament and general recommendations for the establishment of demilitarized zones.

The Assembly adjourned on Oct. 2, after President Motta had delivered the valedictory address. In his closing words he included an appeal for Franco-German rapprochement and a eulogy of the late President Wilson.

#### DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE PLANS

The Council of the League on Oct. 3 adopted resolutions whereby, in preparation for next year's conference on the reduction of armaments, the League's Disarmament Commission will be transformed into a Commission of Coordination. It will simultaneously be revised and enlarged so as to include all the representative groups fundamentally interested in the success of the conference. Although no plan was adopted whereby the United States will be invited to participate in the work of the new commission, it was stated that the question of collaboration of non-member States would be decided at the next meeting of the Council, which will be held in Rome in December.

The Council also adopted a resolution requesting the Council of Ambassadors and the nations represented in this Council to hasten the delimitation of the Albanian frontier, "in any case before the beginning of the forthcoming Winter."

[The Protocol, which was the crowning achievement of the Assembly, and the story of its amendment and adoption, appear elsewhere in this number.]

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

# America Girdles the Globe in the Air

By ROBERT J. BROWN Jr.

First Lieutenant Army Air Service; Chairman World Flight Committee

THE return on Sept. 28 of the United States Army airmen to Seattle, Wash., the starting point of the round-the-world flight, successfully concluded the most sustained effort to date in the history of aviation. Although the trip was spread over a period of five months and twenty-two days, the actual flying time taken to cover 27,534 miles was only 351 hours and 11 minutes.

Baffled by fogs, blinded by snowstorms, buffeted by high winds, stung by sleet, drenched by rainstorms and lashed by the furious gales of the North Pacific, the airmen, under the leadership of Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, flew from the United States westward across the Pacific Ocean to Asia for the first time in history in May, 1924, and arrived at Shanghai, China, early in June. This memorable flight was described in the July issue of this magazine. The airmen continued on their way around the world until they had made a complete circumnavigation of the world entirely by air.

Departing from Shanghai, China, their point of arrival in Asia, on June 8, the airmen arrived the same day at Amoy after flying for 7 hours and 25 minutes. In this distance of over 550 miles such strong headwinds were encountered that a half-way stop was made along the shore and the airplanes refueled with the assistance of a United States naval destroyer. On June 10 the fliers proceeded to Hongkong, China, 300 miles further along the Chinese coast, arriving there after a flight of  $31\frac{1}{4}$  hours. At this place the Chicago, flown by Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, the Flight Commander, was fitted with a new pontoon, and two days

later the airmen left again for Haiphong, French Indo-China, 500 miles away, reaching this place after a flight of 7 hours and 25 minutes. Although they had had one unhappy experience with Chinese typhoons when they were forced down by heavy rains near Kuchimoto, Japan, it was in Haiphong that they encountered the first torrential rains and violent storms of the Orient. They were delayed by these storms for two days, but managed to depart from Haiphong, without further incident on June 12, headed for Tourane, French Indo-China, 395 miles south. The airplane Boston, piloted by Lieutenant Leigh Wade, and the airplane New Orleans, piloted by Lieutenant Erik H. Nelson, reached Tourane without incident after a flight of 7 hours and 9 minutes.

Lieutenant Smith, however, in the Chicago, was forced down fifteen miles from the small town of Hue, when his engine failed on account of a leaky water jacket on one of his cylinders. He landed in a lagoon, and had to be towed to Hue by a small native craft. Arrangements were immediately made by wire with one of the United States naval destroyers which were forming a radio chain for the flight along the Asiatic coast to proceed to Saigon, French Indo-China, the next scheduled stop, 500 miles south, and procure a new engine which had been located at this point to meet just such an emergency. The engine was rushed to Hue overnight and two days were taken to install it in the Chicago. Lieutenant Smith rejoined the other members of the party at Tourane on June 16 after a flight of 50 minutes. On the following day the three airplanes departed for Saigon, the



southernmost stop on the world flight route in the shadow of the Equator. Through this section of the route the aviators wore sun helmets to protect them from the great heat and the planes were equipped with radiators to give extra cooling surface to their engines.

The flight to Saigon, a distance of 530 miles, was made in 6 hours and 35 minutes. Here the airmen waited a day to create an intermediate refueling station at Kampongson Bay, half way between Saigon and Bangkok, Siam, which are 675 miles apart. It was found impossible to get off the water with the heavy airplanes fully loaded with fuel, as the diminished density of the atmosphere in the torrid zone would not give the necessary buoyancy; furthermore, it was considered better to relieve the motors of any unnecessary strain which would cause them to heat rapidly, as would be the case if an attempt were made to take off from Saigon in the terrific heat with a full load of gasoline. On June 18, as soon as a destroyer was in place near Kampongson, the three airplanes headed north. They landed at Kampongson, and after refueling departed on the same day for Bangkok, the capital of Siam, at the northern end of the Gulf of Siam, arriving there in the early evening after being in the air 4 hours and 5 minutes that day.

#### TROPIC HEAT CONDITIONS

A delay of one day was necessary at Bangkok while the generator was replaced on Lieutenant Smith's plane. This had been burned out after leaving Kampongson, so that the flagship Chicago had to depend upon battery ignition for the balance of the trip to Bangkok. In planning the journey to Rangoon, Burma, the next scheduled stop, the same heat conditions as at Saigon had to be considered, and there was also the problem of crossing a range of mountains from 4,000 to 6,000 feet high, between the Gulf of Siam and the Bay of Bengal. It was therefore decided to establish an emergency place at Tavoy, Burma, with the assistance of the United

States Navy, in order that the planes could leave Bangkok with a small load of gasoline and oil.

The world cruisers took off from Bangkok on June 20 and flew directly west, crossing the Siam-Burma border line, 100 miles to the east at the apex of the mountain range, which forms a natural boundary between these two countries. After crossing this range the airmen landed at Tavoy and refueled from the United States destroyer Pruitt. When the airplanes took off the water at Tavoy both the Boston and the New Orleans, piloted by Wade and Nelson respectively, broke wires because of the exceedingly heavy sea which was running at this time. In spite of this damage both airplanes continued to Rangoon without a stop, where they landed in front of the city and made fast for the night after a flight of 450 miles in 7 hours and 10 minutes.

An unforeseen delay was encountered at Rangoon because during the night a sampan (a native river boat) collided with Lieutenant Nelson's airplane, the New Orleans, causing considerable damage to the lower right wing. New wings being ready at Calcutta, 845 miles away, Lieutenant Nelson personally made repairs to his airplane to accompany the others to that point. The repairs were so well made, however, that the new wings were not necessary. It is a remarkable fact that both the Chicago and the New Orleans completed the entire world flight without using any new main parts with the exception of the power plant, which, of course, had to be changed several times en route. Another emergency arose at Rangoon when Lieutenant Smith was taken suddenly ill with an acute intestinal disorder attributed to water obtained at Tavoy. He received medical attention and continued with the flight. Akyab, Burma, was reached in 4 hours and 30 minutes. Here the American airmen expected to meet Major MacLaren, Commander of the British round-the-world flight, who was traveling in the opposite direction, but they arrived just too late to exchange views with him.

The American fliers reached Calcutta, India, 400 miles from Akyab, after stopping a few moments to refuel at Chittagong. At Calcutta they landed on the Hugli River about 15 miles north of the city. Calcutta was the main flight supply and repair base of Southern Asia, and the arrival there marked the completion of one-half the distance around the world. Much to the surprise and gratification of the officials of the War Department, the fliers were able completely to overhaul the world cruisers and to replace the pontoons used for landing on the waters with the regular wheel landing gear in three days, although the plans allowed a week for this change. However, this

splendid progress was not unattended by misfortune. While working on the upper wing on the Chicago Lieutenant Smith slipped and fell, fracturing a rib, but he did not permit his discomfort to delay the flight. At dawn on July 1 the flight left the British Air Force airdrome at Dum Dum, North Calcutta, where they had received assistance of the Royal Air Force Squadron. They landed at another Royal Air Force airdrome at Allahabad, 475 miles to the north, 6 hours and 25 minutes later. Strong headwinds and several thunderstorms were met en route which necessitated detours.

At sunrise on July 2 the three airplanes circled over Allahabad and



The route of the American round-the-world airmen is indicated on this map by the heavy black line



headed northwest for Ambala, 530 miles away, reaching this stop in 5 hours and 25 minutes. They were passing through that portion of interior India which is subject to the southwest monsoon in the Summer, always accompanied by heavy electrical storms and torrential rains. On account of the terrific heat on July 2 the engine in Lieutenant Nelson's plane, the New Orleans, cracked a water jacket. Although considerable water was lost before Ambala was reached, he landed safely in the cantonment of the British Indian Army, where the American airmen were accorded the same hospitality and assistance by the Royal Air Force that marked their progress through India. On July 3 the flight to Multan, 325 miles to the west, was accomplished in 4 hours and 42 minutes, but not without difficulty. The Flight Commander's report stated that they landed in Multan safely, but were very tired. On July 4 they left Multan early and headed down the valley of the Indus toward Karachi, on the Arabian Gulf, the last stop in India. This distance of 475 miles was covered in 7 hours and 10 minutes. During this flight Lieutenant Nelson's engine again cracked a water jacket. Despite losing a great deal of water he avoided a forced landing in the Indian desert and landed safely at the Royal Air Force airdrome east of the City of Karachi. Here the fliers changed the engine in each of the planes, working sixteen hours a day, assisted by volunteers of the Royal Air Force.

Leaving the Karachi airdrome on July 7, the airmen flew northwest to Chahbar, Persia, 330 miles up the Persian Gulf, landing after 4 hours and 55 minutes in the air. After refueling they departed again for Bandar Abbas, 335 miles further northwest, which they reached in 4 hours and 5 minutes. On the morning of July 8 the airmen left Bandar Abbas for Bushire, Persia, 400 miles away, where they landed after a 4-hour flight. They departed again that afternoon for Bagdad, 475 miles to the west. When they landed at the British

aerodrome at this point they had covered 875 miles in one day in 10 hours and 30 minutes flying time, having flown from India to Mesopotamia, and in two days having traversed the entire southern border of Persia. The dawn of July 9 found them again in the air flying toward Aleppo, Syria, 480 miles further on, where they landed on the aerodrome of the French Air Force, north of Aleppo, 6 hours and 5 minutes after leaving Bagdad. The following day, July 10, saw them again on their way toward Constantinople.

Although a stop had been planned at Konia, Turkey, 285 miles northwest of Aleppo, flying conditions were so favorable that the fliers were able to reach San Stefano, near Constantinople, 585 miles from Aleppo, in a non-stop flight of 7 hours and 40 minutes duration. Notwithstanding the fact that they had been in the air nearly eight hours they worked upon their airplanes to have them in readiness to leave Constantinople as soon as possible for Bucharest, the first stop in Europe. They were prevailed upon, however, to rest till July 12 as the guests of the Turkish aviation officials, and the day was spent making small adjustments and explaining the airplanes with their special equipment to the Turkish airmen. The rapidity with which the world fliers passed across Europe was remarkable and is best expressed in the following cryptic reports received from the Flight Commander:

July 12.

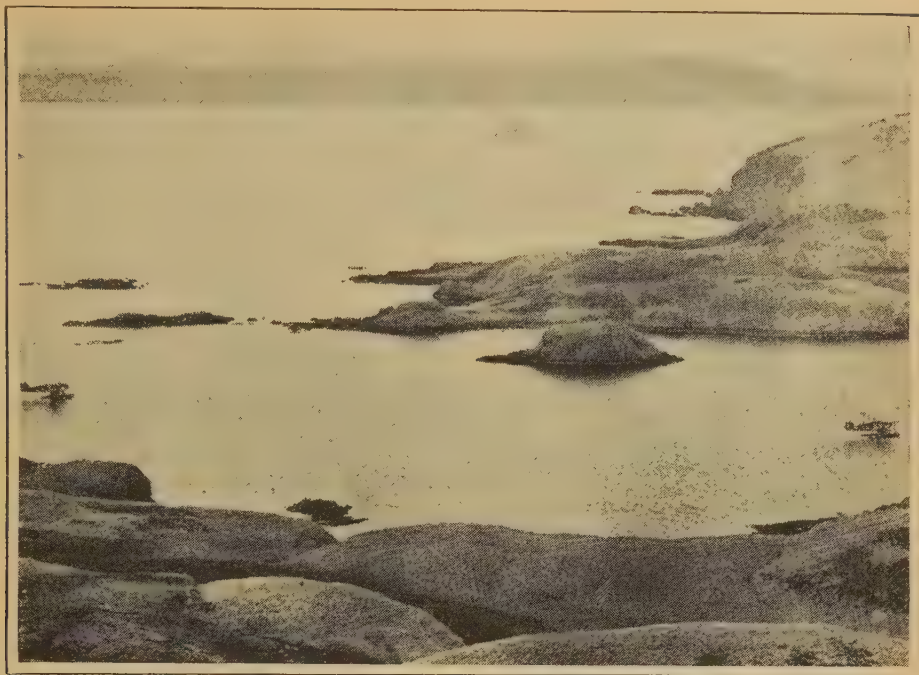
For Chief of Air Service, Washington, D. C.:  
Left San Stefano 8:05 July 12. Landed Bucharest 4 hours 40 minutes. All O. K. Flight to Vienna July 13. SMITH.

July 13.

For Chief of Air Service, Washington, D. C.:  
Left Bucharest 5:40. Landed Budapest 7 hours 50 minutes. Landed Vienna 2 hours 10 minutes. All O. K. Paris July 14. SMITH.

July 15.

For Chief of Air Service, Washington, D. C.:  
Left Vienna 5:40. Landed Strasbourg 6 hours 40 minutes. Landed Paris 4 hours. All O. K. Leaving July 16. Stop London necessary. SMITH.



World flight airplanes at anchor in Chicagoff Harbor, Attu Island, the last stop before crossing the Pacific

#### FRENCH ARMY GREETING

The American airmen were met 100 miles east of Paris by two flights of airplanes of the French Army, by which they were escorted over the city. Here they circled over the Arc de Triomphe, out of respect to the military heroes of France, before landing at Le Bourget. The fliers stayed in Paris only one day, and on July 16 they left on the way to England. They landed at the Croydon Aerodrome, near London, three hours later, after covering 225 miles. It was said that never before in the history of aviation had there been a more representative gathering of aviation enthusiasts than met the world flight upon its arrival in London. One of the first to greet Lieutenant Smith, the commanding officer of the flight, was Mrs. Stuart MacLaren, the wife of the British airman who was also attempting to fly around the world. After a day in London the Americans left for Brough on the Humber River, 150 miles to the north,

where they landed 1 hour and 50 minutes later on the aerodrome of the Blackburn Airplane and Motor Corporation, where the main dépôt for the world flight in England had been established. To this place had been shipped supplies consisting of engines, pontoons, spare surfaces and considerable miscellaneous material. The airplanes were here given a complete overhauling and the landing gear again replaced with pontoons for the Atlantic flight.

Completely refitted and in excellent condition, the airmen on July 30 negotiated the 370-mile hop from Brough to Kirkwall, Scotland, in the Orkney Islands, near Scapa Flow, in 5 hours. Here they found conditions which reminded them of the Alaskan coast before crossing the Pacific. For two days heavy blankets of fog obscured the ocean, making impossible the anticipated rapid flight to Iceland. Arrangements had been completed with the United States Navy to patrol the long,



open water stretches over which the flight must pass across the North Atlantic. On Aug. 2 all the ships guarding the path from Kirkwall to Iceland reported excellent flying conditions, and Lieutenant Smith and his companions made ready for the 550-mile dash across the ocean. Lieutenants Leigh Wade and Erik Nelson had no difficulty in getting off the water. Lieutenant Smith, with a heavily loaded airplane, however, encountered some trouble, but after several attempts succeeded. The three airplanes had traveled scarcely more than 25 miles before they ran into heavy banks of fog which had rolled in from the sea. It was impossible for them to see one another. Lieutenants Smith and Wade, thinking this condition general, turned their ships about and headed back for the base at Scapa Flow.

Lieutenant Nelson, in the absence of a signal from Smith, continued through the fog by relying upon his compass. He found the condition to be local, and the fog lasted only 20 minutes. After he succeeded in clearing the fog he looked around for his companions, and, thinking they had either preceded him or were following, he persisted in his course to Iceland. Half way between the Orkney and Faroe Islands he sighted the destroyer Billingsley and, being concerned about Smith and Wade, dropped a message on the deck, asking that she blow her whistle if the other ships had not passed. Receiving one blast from the destroyer, Nelson proceeded to Hofn Hornafjord, Iceland, where he landed, after being in the air nearly 8 hours. It was one of those pleasing incidents in this historical and sometimes sentimental journey that Erik Nelson, a Scandinavian-American, should carry to this land of the Vikings the first specimen of a flying machine. Next day, Aug. 3, Wade and Smith followed Nelson, but 130 miles north of Kirkwall Wade was forced to land on account of a broken oil pump. Smith, in the Chicago, circled over him and learned by signals that Wade's engine was permanently disabled and that without help it would be impossible to proceed.

Smith proceeded along the route until he sighted the Billingsby and, after communicating to her Wade's exact location and seeing her start to the rescue, continued to Iceland before his fuel became exhausted, rejoining Nelson after 6 hours and 25 minutes in the air battling rain and fog.

#### WADE'S AIRPLANE WRECKED

The news of Wade's dilemma was broadcast by the Billingsby to all vessels in the vicinity. After drifting in a rough sea for four hours, the Boston was first sighted by an English trawler, which went immediately to its assistance. The Billingsby, steaming under forced speed, soon picked up both Wade and the trawler and relieved the British ship of her charge. A high sea was running, and an attempt to haul the Boston aboard the destroyer resulted in the breaking of a boom. The destroyer headed for the Faroe Islands with the airplane in tow, where it was hoped that it could be repaired and rejoin the round-the-world expedition. The cruiser Richmond soon met the Billingsby, but on account of the heavy sea did not dare to take the Boston on board. It was decided therefore to attempt to tow the airplane all the way to the Faroe Islands. After resisting the waves of the North Atlantic for more than 8 hours, the Boston sank when only 8 miles from a harbor. Lieutenants Wade and Ogden, after traversing nearly 20,000 miles of hardships, were now without an airplane, but upon the recommendation of Lieutenant Smith a new world flight cruiser, the only other one of its type in existence, the one in which the world fliers had trained, was flown to Pictou Harbor, Nova Scotia. Here Lieutenant Wade later rejoined the flight and in the airplane Boston II. completed the expedition with his companions. Smith and Nelson waited at Hofn Hornafjord until they were informed that Wade's plane was out of the flight. Then on Aug. 5 they flew across Iceland, skirting the southern shore to the capital, Reykjavik, a distance of 339

miles, in 5 hours and 10 minutes, against heavy winds.

The next scheduled stop was Angmagsalik, Greeland, on the edge of the Arctic Circle. When the fliers reached Reykjavik, 500 miles east of Angmagsalik, the chartered Danish steamer Gertrude Rask, on which was First Lieutenant LeClaire D. Schultz, one of the alternate pilots of the flight, had not yet reached this northernmost base with supplies and fuel. It was caught in the ice 70 miles south of this point and was drifting slowly southward, unable to extricate itself. The airmen were delayed nearly two weeks awaiting word that the harbor at Angmagsalik was ready for their use. When the supply ship finally worked its way through the ice and arrived there, it found the harbor so full of floating ice that it would have been folly to attempt to land there with the fragile pontoons. As the ice conditions steadily became worse, Lieutenant Clayton T. Bissell of the Air Service, on board the United States destroyer Milwaukee, searched the Greenland coast south of Angmagsalik for a suitable base. One was finally established at Fredericksdal on Cape Fare-

well, the southernmost point of the mainland and 825 miles from Reykjavik. While waiting at Reykjavik the American airmen were joined by the Italian army officer, Major Locatelli, piloting a flying boat in an attempt to cross the Atlantic. Upon the invitation of Lieutenant Smith, Major Locatelli joined the Americans, in order that he could take advantage of their radio chain and supply system in accomplishing his flight.

Finally abandoning all hope of reaching Angmagsalik, the Americans attempted to leave for Fredericksdal on Aug. 17. The attempt to take off was disastrous. The spreader bar on Lieutenant Smith's plane and Lieutenant Nelson's propeller were each broken. This necessitated a three-day delay, while the cruiser Richmond returned to Reykjavik with material for repairing the airplanes. At last, on Aug. 21, all the naval vessels being in line between Reykjavik and Fredericksdal, the three airplanes took to the air and set their course across the Greenland sea for Fredericksdal. Lieutenant Nelson was temporarily delayed with minor adjustments, but eventually proceeded. Lieu-



Ivigut, Greenland, one of the landing places of the American round-the-world airmen





The round-the-world airmen after being greeted by President Coolidge at Washington. From left to right: Arnold, Smith, the President, Secretary of War Weeks, Wade, Nelson, Ogden

tenant Smith arrived at Fredericksdal after 12 hours' flying, and an hour later was joined by Lieutenant Nelson. The last 300 miles of this long flight across the water was accomplished under the most trying and hazardous conditions encountered during the entire flight through thick fog and rain. Smith and Nelson reported that they were continually dodging icebergs in the fog and flying within a few feet of the water.

Major Locatelli should have arrived at Fredericksdal with the Americans. When at first there was no sign of him, it was thought that, as he had a larger plane, he might have continued on and landed further up the coast. Parties of Eskimos were organized to explore the coast line, while all the United States naval vessels in the vicinity searched along the route between Iceland and Greenland, though somewhat hampered by thick weather, low clouds and rain. Finally, after three days, when the cruiser Richmond was about to abandon the search, a rocket was observed, and Major Locatelli and his companions were found 125 miles south of their course, drifting in the airplane among the ice fields. The machine had been

forced down by engine trouble. The airplane was abandoned at Major Locatelli's request.

#### IN NORTH AMERICA AGAIN

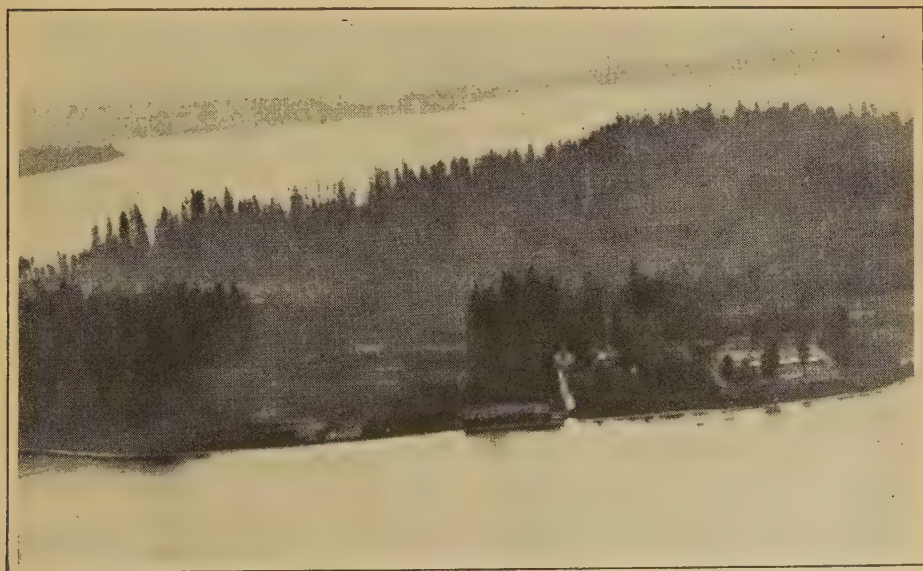
Lieutenants Smith and Nelson on Aug. 23 flew to Ivigtut, Greenland, in 2 hours and 15 minutes. Here a great quantity of supplies had been concentrated to repair and recondition the planes, and in addition the Danish warship *Islands Falk* was in readiness to render any assistance that might be required. After installing new engines, the airmen prepared for the long over-water flight across the Danish Straits to Indian Harbor, Labrador, a distance of 572 miles. This flight was accomplished without incident, and the arrival of the fliers on the North American Continent, after an absence of five months, was reported in the following laconic message from Smith:

Radio via U. S. S. Richmond, Aug. 31, 1924.  
For Chief of Air Service, Washington, D. C.:  
Left Ivigtut 8:20. Landed Indian Harbor 7 hours 5 minutes. Oil pump and gasoline pump trouble No. 2 (the Chicago). Hope to complete repairs tomorrow. Otherwise everything O K.  
SMITH.

The airmen departed from Indian Harbor on Sept. 3 and worked their way through fog and against strong head winds 330 miles to Hawkes Bay, Newfoundland, arriving after a hazardous flight of 5 hours and 55 minutes. On Sept. 4 they reached Pictou Harbor, Nova Scotia, 420 miles further south, where they were rejoined by Lieutenant Wade in the Boston II. From Pictou a direct flight had been planned for the 520 miles to Boston, the point of entrance into the United States. This was attempted on Sept. 5, but the fliers were forced down by fog near Mere Island, Me. The next day, Sept. 6, exactly five months from the date they departed from the west coast at Seattle, Wash., the three world flight airplanes landed, for the last time on water, in Boston Harbor. Upon their arrival they were greeted by a remarkable demonstration. Hundreds of thousands of cheering people watched the historic landing, while representatives of the State and city at the Boston airport welcomed them with congratulations to the accompaniment of guns firing a salute, the music of bands and a din of whistles, sirens and other devices for making a noise. The

three airplanes of the world flight were escorted into Boston by a flight of twelve airplanes, led by Major Gen. Mason M. Patrick, Chief of the Army Air Service, in person. At 2:09 P. M. the pontoons of Lieutenant Smith's plane touched the water in the harbor and quickly came to a stop in a cloud of spray. Lieutenants Nelson and Wade followed at 30-second intervals as accurately as if the time had been clocked. At Boston the world fliers were warmly greeted by their contemporary, Major Stuart MacLaren of the British Royal Air Force, who had passed them in the Orient when attempting to fly around the world in the opposite direction, but who had met disaster on the Siberian coast. The fliers were greeted with intense popular enthusiasm as they rode through the streets to their hotel.

The ovations in Boston were reduplicated all the way across the continent. At New York, Washington, Dayton, Chicago and other cities through which they passed, until they reached the end of their journey at Seattle, they were welcomed with open arms and unparalleled hospitality by their fellow-countrymen, each city trying to outdo the



Sandpoint Aerodrome, Seattle, with Lake Washington in the foreground. This is where the world flight began and ended



other in showing its pride in the great achievement. At Washington President Coolidge and every member of his Cabinet canceled all engagements and stood for more than four hours in the rain to be on hand to greet the returning airmen.

The stage was set in 1924 for a flight around the world. British, French, Portuguese, Argentine and American fliers

all entered the race. Each, with the exception of the American flight, met with disaster. The American flight succeeded because it was well organized and planned and undertaken by a first-class flying personnel. This great flight will be remembered as one of the great voyages of history, comparable to the adventurings of Columbus, Magellan, Hawkins, Raleigh and the rest.

# The United States Air Policy

By EDWARD P. WARNER,

Professor of Aeronautical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

IN the fifteen years that have passed since the Signal Corps of the United States Army purchased the first workable heavier-than-air flying machine to enter the military service of any State many new uses for the airplane have been found. Commercial flying was quite undreamed of at that time, and of the four major classes of service to which aircraft are now allotted in connection with military operations only one, observation, was then seriously regarded, though a second, bombardment, had been envisaged in the rather shadowy manner appropriate to an era when the maximum altitude attainable was measured in hundreds of feet instead of thousands and when the reserve load-carrying capacity of aircraft was so small that the first bombs to be the subject of experiments were hardly more than hand grenades.

The situation, so far as military use was concerned, had changed but little by 1914. Under the pressure of war, however, the capabilities of the new arm were quickly explored, and within six months both fighting in the air and

bombardment on a large scale had become commonplace. Each general use was subdivided and ramified until observation, for example, which had originally been conceived as a simple making of a visual survey, had come to require both day and night flying and to comprise photography of the enemy's territory, checking of artillery fire with report to the firing battery by radio, the maintenance of liaison between advanced troops and their support bases, and a variety of other sorts of work equally specialized.

Since the armistice new records have been set up, the power of aircraft armament has been increased, heavier and more deadly bombs have been designed, and no one now questions the importance of the rôle inescapably to be played by aircraft in any future conflict among first-class powers. There still are differences of opinion as to the exact nature and extent of that rôle, as to the degree in which the airplane has superseded the capital ship or the cavalry patrol, as to the best method of organizing and administering an air

service, but on the fundamental fact there is no dispute. Any feeling of hostility toward aircraft as such has long since disappeared from military and naval circles.

With the growing understanding, both by officer and layman, there has come a feeling of alarm over the condition of national defenses in the air. France fears Germany. Great Britain fears France. Italy under the flamboyant leadership of Mussolini seeks a place in the sky worthy of her position as a Mediterranean and a Continental power. America works toward an air force worthy of her wealth and influence. Japan, realizing herself in default in the upbuilding of an aerial establishment, obtains the services of a British mission and sets earnestly to work to remedy existing deficiencies, to create the necessary facilities for the design and construction of aircraft, and to train and muster into the service a number of pilots adequately proportioned to the strength of the army and navy. Everywhere the importance of air policy, analogous in some respects to military and naval policy, but sharply distinct from them, is gaining recognition.

A false and distorted picture would be drawn if attention were to be given to military and naval flying alone. Aircraft have come into commerce since the war, and have made for themselves a place in the economic life of the communities they serve which demands attention in the framing and execution of any policy for the future. Commercial and military aviation cannot be considered separately. They are even more inextricably interlinked than are the navy and the merchant marine, and military dangers and military preparations must and do have a repercussion on those commercial aeronautical policies which are now in the formative stage.

#### PASSENGER TRAFFIC

The carriage of passengers and express by air long ago passed the stage of vague speculation. Regularly oper-

ated air lines afford direct connection between almost any two of the capitals of Europe, as well as links with some of the cities of Northern Africa, from Moscow on the northeast and Constantinople on the southeast to Casablanca on the southwest. More than 15,000 paying passengers have crossed the English Channel by air during the past year, and the total mileage covered in commercial transport operations, including the very notable work of the United States Air Mail, during the same period has been over 6,000,000, with a traffic aggregating nearly 10,000,000 passenger miles and 800,000 ton miles of freight. Air transport has very definitely arrived, and Governments and individuals alike must reckon with it.

The cardinal purpose of commercial flying should be the provision of a medium of communication and transport sufficiently safe and economical not to discourage traffic, and at the same time far speedier than any other known means of conveyance. Its value to the State as a State is the same as that of any other transportation facility, plus certain military and political features peculiar to aerial service.

The first and most obvious connection between military and commercial aviation is based on the possible use of commercial aircraft in war, either in their original condition or after slight modifications. Such use is, of course, always conceivable, for military value is always relative, and certain "commercial" airplanes have very clearly been designed with the desirability of ready conversion to military use in mind. The direct importance of the commercial airplane in war has, however, often been much exaggerated. It is no more practicable to blend thoroughly satisfactory military and commercial qualities in one airplane than to hybridize a battleship and a tramp steamer and secure the merits of both. The attempt to provide for everything at once and to make the airplane convertible as a whole inevitably results in the production of a machine unsatisfactory for every purpose. Be-



sides, even if that were not the case, it is unlikely that for many years to come the number of commercial machines in actual service on an efficiently conducted air line will be great enough to provide a material part of the supplies needed on the occasion of war. As a reservoir of supply their number, or even five or ten times that number, would be as nothing. Even making due allowance for the difference in size between the typical commercial airplane and the types used for observation and pursuit work during the late war, the number of machines required to keep all the European air lines going at their present rate hardly exceeds a single day's production by the factories of the allied and associated powers during the Fall of 1918.

#### PILOTS' QUALIFICATIONS

Another factor of interconnection between military and commercial units is found in the personnel, and it has been very generally urged that the operations of commercial companies afford an outlet for the skill of pilots and mechanics, and a means of training new men who would be available for military service in emergency. Here, again, exaggeration is easy. The number of pilots and mechanics finding employment on the commercial lines is insignificant in comparison with the number needed in time of war, and the proficiency of a military pilot already skilled in his work would gain nothing from spending the years of peace flying straight back and forth between two points on a given route 250 days in every year. As for the training of new men, manifestly the control of an airplane carrying a dozen passengers should not be turned over to novices seeking experience. The United States Air Mail accepts no pilot who has not had 500 hours (about 50,000 miles) of flying on 400-horsepower airplanes, and the rule is one generally followed in practice in other countries as well, even if it may not be laid down elsewhere as an ironclad specification.

Of somewhat more significance than the possibility of direct induction of

equipment and personnel into the military service is the effect of commercial flying on the aircraft industry, which has to produce both military and commercial machines. Although the wastage of aircraft in peace is comparatively slight, and although the number of new aircraft purchased by the commercial companies consequently is negligible in comparison with the demands of an army or navy after the outbreak of war, the commercial orders do at least serve to reduce somewhat the support that must be given to the industry by the military branches of the Government in order to keep it alive and up to the minimum standard demanded by national safety. Furthermore, and more important, the placing of orders from outside governmental circles has a healthy influence on the industry's powers of initiative, serving as a stimulus to the production of new types and to the making of experiments which might otherwise never be undertaken. Exclusive dependence on governmental support is dangerous to the morale of any industry or organization.

In thus approaching first the military significance of commercial aviation, attention has been given to the most dramatic and the most generally recognized of the motives of governmental interest in aerial transport. Less well advertised and less often appreciated in their true significance are the economic and political factors in that interest.

The operation of French air lines with French airplanes and pilots from Paris to Constantinople and to Warsaw, to take a concrete example, has a profound effect among the countries of the Little Entente and their neighbors. French products are advertised, and French prowess in the air is exalted to countries just beginning the upbuilding of their own air forces and preparing both to make extended expenditures for equipment abroad and to seek the appointment of aeronautical missions by one of their more powerful and experienced neighbors. The French airplane industry and the position of France in

Europe have both been benefited by that and other similar undertakings.

In some cases, too, an increase of speed of communication between capital cities has in itself a very real political and diplomatic significance. Relations between Russia and Germany have been facilitated in no small degree by the existence of the air line between Königsberg and Moscow, which makes it possible to travel from Moscow to Berlin in twenty-four hours and which has received a very large proportion of its total patronage from German and Russian officials.

Swift and easy transportation between neighboring countries always has some economic and political value, but as between one country and its colonies and dominions rapid travel and communication become vital. Every reduction in the time of travel or of mail delivery between the centre and the outlying portions of an empire serves as a deterrent to those centrifugal tendencies with which Governments extending their sway over widely spread territories always have to contend. It is significant that one of the best-organized of the French air lines runs from within Continental France down along the Spanish coast to Morocco, with expectation of an early extension to Dakar in French West Africa, and that the Governments both of Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald have given much attention to the working out of a scheme whereby the pioneer flights made several years ago from London to Australia and from London to South Africa can be followed by the establishment of regular airship services between Great Britain and those dominions, with stops in Egypt and India. Quite independently of the military value that they possess, aircraft are claiming governmental attention and support as winged bonds of empire.

nire.

#### GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

These are the springs from which governmental policies in their relations to commercial flying have risen. Those policies, of such recent and sudden

growth as to be still inchoate, uncodified and diverse in the extreme, contain both defensive and offensive elements—measures calculated, on the one hand, to protect the State and its nationals against injury through the use made of any aircraft, and, on the other, to insure that the State shall not be left behind in the race for supremacy on the airways and to preserve for its citizens at least an equality of opportunity in their competition with those of other nationalities in the commercial exploitation of airplanes and airships, thus securing to the State those military, economic and political benefits already summarized.

The defensive measures coming into play in time of peace are few in number, and they are not drastic. There is little variety among the actions taken by the several European countries, other than Germany and Russia, as all are working under the authority of and along the general lines laid down by the International Air Navigation Convention, signed at Versailles on Oct. 13, 1919, by the plenipotentiaries of thirty-two nations, including the United States, and subsequently ratified by fourteen of those nations and four others, including at least one country from each continent, but not including the United States. A number of the countries which have not yet formally ratified, again not including the United States, have nevertheless proceeded in accordance with practically all the provisions of the convention, having withheld their assent only because of objection to small details or because of the peculiar difficulties which the exclusion of Germany from the convention has put in the way of the small nations neutral in the late war and now wishing direct aerial communication with the German Republic. The basic principle of the convention is that of free passage in time of peace to private and commercial aircraft of the contracting States, but the freedom of the air is restricted to such machines as have complied with the requirements laid down by their respective Governments. Every aircraft



must be inspected and certified as air-worthy. Every pilot must possess a license as a guarantee of his competence. Each country undertakes to do for aircraft what Lloyd's Classification Society, the Bureau Veritas and the American Bureau of Shipping do for ships of the sea. No such action as this, which is generally conceded to be an essential prelude to any serious commercial development, has as yet been taken in the United States.

Under the head of defensive measures, each country, of course, has its own police regulations. Passage over cities below a specified height is prohibited, and certain areas in the neighborhood of forts and dockyards are entirely closed to aerial passage for military reasons. Furthermore, to facilitate the enforcement of tariff and immigration laws and a maintenance of surveillance over alien aircraft, it is required that international boundaries be crossed at specified points and that the first landing after such a crossing be made at a customs aerodrome, where passport and baggage can be inspected.

All such measures as these, while they must be included if the story of the relations of Government to aeronautics is to be complete, form, with the exception of the airworthiness and licensing requirements, but a very small part of air policy. Governments all over Europe have sought to stimulate flying, not to check it, and it is the aggressive measures taken in each country to encourage the activity of that country's nationals in the field of commercial flying which are of most significance in the development of policy.

First among such measures in the importance of their effect on the actual progress of commercial aeronautics up to the present time have been the subsidies offered for operation. Governments wishing air lines inaugurated have made cash grants to those willing, for a sufficient consideration, to inaugurate them. Started by France, the practice necessarily had to be taken up by all Governments of which the nationals came into competition with

French operating companies, and the contagion to the rest of Europe was rapid, so that the last edition of the British Air Ministry's report on the progress of civil aviation mentions the existence of subsidies or subventions of some sort in nine European countries, as well as Argentina and Australia. Several others have also given aid in the past.

#### FRENCH SUBSIDY SYSTEM

The sums of money involved in these grants are not large even in the aggregate. Even in France, where the Government has been most liberal, the subsidies have never totaled 50,000,000 francs (approximately \$3,000,000 at the time when payments were largest), and the British Government's expenditures of this sort at the present time amount to less than \$600,000 a year. Small as they are, however, they have been the major factor in keeping up a surprisingly large amount of flying, some of which would be quite impossible to carry on without the subsidy, for when routes are located for political reasons they are unlikely to find immediately such support as would justify their existence on economic grounds alone. A good example of what happens in the early stages of the exploitation of such a route is afforded by the Franco-Moroccan line already mentioned. In the first six months of 1921 it received 2,977,800 francs in subsidies and 170,368 francs, or one-fifteenth as much, from all other sources combined. Even then it lost money, but the strain was eased by the existence of the subsidy, and the receipts from the traffic have greatly increased since that time, so that a more normal condition now exists on the balance sheet. This function of the subsidy in tiding over hard times while commercial flying is getting under way is so well recognized that the first Dutch subsidy law was confined to the somewhat negative provision that the Government would repay to each operating company a certain proportion of its losses.

Subsidy policies adopted in haste to

meet foreign competition have often developed flaws under test. Some have proved chiefly effective in discouraging efficiency and inducing the purchase of a vast amount of unneeded equipment and the employment of a proportionally large number of pilots and mechanics in excess of any reasonable demand, while others have led only to bitter competition among two or three companies, all operating on the same route and all drawing subsidies from the same source. The frequent existence of the last-mentioned condition has led in several cases to the institution of partial or complete monopoly under Government control or of direct Government operation. The most recent example has come from Great Britain, where the affairs of the three companies previously engaged in furnishing aerial transport have been taken over by Imperial Airways, Ltd., a corporation in which the British Government holds a half interest and which operates under an agreement assuring a ten-year monopoly and guaranteeing subsidies on a gradually declining scale, reaching zero at the end of that same period.

The Soviet Government has gone somewhat further, the Deutsche-Russische Luftverkehr, which serves the route between Königsberg and Moscow, being operated in direct and equal partnership between a German company, which itself has substantial monopoly of air transport on German soil, and the Soviet Government. In one or two of the smaller countries of Europe, too, air lines carrying passengers and freight are operated by the Governments as directly as is the air mail here.

Although the subsidy is the most dramatic form in which aid is given to commercial flying, it is by no means the only one; nor will it, in the long run, prove the most important. Aerial transport can get along without subsidies, and it will probably have to do so very largely in the future, for other nations as well as Great Britain consider direct monetary grants as a stop-gap and look forward to their abandonment as soon as a little more experience

has been gained and the public confidence in aircraft has been further developed. The provision of those facilities conveniently classed together as "ground organization," however, is a form of governmental activity that can never be abandoned. There must be landing fields in constantly increasing numbers. Airways must be laid out, marked and lighted for nocturnal use. Meteorological data must be obtained from many points, collected and examined, and the results sent promptly to all parts of the country, and storm warnings must be broadcast. The further development of direction-finding radio will necessitate the establishment of ground stations which will furnish to pilots the information regarding their position which will make it possible to navigate in a fog. Those things, and others of allied nature, are now being done by the Governments of European countries, and to some extent by that of the United States as well, and it is not only logical but inevitable that Governments should continue to do them, as inevitable as that the community as a whole, rather than any individual or group, should provide the aids to navigation off the coast. No air policy has been framed, nor can any worthy of the name be framed, without including provision for the constant extension of these ground facilities.

Such is air policy in Europe, whence most of the examples in this paper have been taken. The development of commercial aviation is deemed to be a vital interest of the State, which accordingly offers encouragement both directly and indirectly, both by cash payments to the operating companies and by the assumption of burdens which the companies would otherwise have to carry for themselves, to any one who will undertake to run an air service between approved points, in an approved manner, and subject to governmental inspection and control. At the same time, a minimum of restrictive measures is enforced to insure safe operation of all aircraft, whether subsidized or not,



and fair competition among the nationals of all States.

#### AMERICAN SHORTCOMINGS

American practice, in so far as it has solidified into definite trends, has run on somewhat different lines. There has been, except for the action of a few of the States, no attempt at control or regulation of private or commercial flying. Motor boats are faithfully inspected and registered by the Federal Government, but airplanes, however decrepit, and their pilots, however incompetent, pass unchallenged. It is almost needless to say that there has been no effort to stimulate the incursion of private enterprise into the field of air transport, other than such indirect and informal, though none the less valuable, help as is incidental to the ordinary operations of the Army Air Service. The United States Government has yet to make one friendly gesture in the direction of passenger-carrying by air.

Turning from that rather mournful conclusion to survey the position of the American aircraft industry and its relation to the Government, the most striking and sharply defined phase of our whole policy presents itself. In America, more than in any other country left to make a free choice of its own course of action and not subjected to compulsion by treaty, production has been subordinated to research and design. What are the results? On the one hand our total expenditures are less in proportion to the current local purchasing power of money than are those of at least two European countries. Further, the American Air Service is far weaker in flying equipment in proportion to the territory that it defends and to the resources of the country than is that of France and somewhat weaker than that of Great Britain. On the other hand American airplanes are admittedly at least the equal of any others in the world and in many respects may claim to be a definitely superior product—a claim backed by American possession of a considerable majority of the recognized world's records for speed, altitude, dis-

tance of flight and duration, to say nothing of such notable feats as the non-stop trip across the United States and the flight around the world. No attempt has been made to produce in quantity the airplanes responsible for these records or the service types derived from them, but the preliminary tests have been thoroughly made and the designs are ready for the factories to work from if any emergency should demand sudden expansion of the Air Service.

Although there have been no governmental efforts to turn the attention of private business toward air transport, the United States has none the less been the scene of the most important single experiment in the use of aircraft in commerce that the world has yet seen. In six and a half years of operation, the last four years of it on a transcontinental route, the Air Mail has made a record unapproached in regularity of adherence to schedule and hardly excelled in safety. Flying nearly 2,000,000 miles a year, the mail planes cover every part of the distance between New York and San Francisco once each day in each direction, and the ratio of trips completed on time to trips undertaken would be creditable for a railroad. A number of months have passed without a single failure to complete a trip or serious delay, and averages of 98 and 99 per cent. have become commonplace. Few of the European passenger lines can show averages of better than 95 per cent., even during the Summer months. Furthermore, since July 1, 1924, the mail has been flown by night as well as by day, this being the first attempt at commercial night flying on a regular schedule, and the total elapsed time in transit from coast to coast is now only 30 hours, a clear saving of more than 60 per cent. over the time of the fastest mail trains. The record is a notable one, but it affords no explanation of the complete neglect in this country of the forms of air service which have been exploited so intensively in Europe.

# The Myth of American Isolation

By PITMAN B. POTTER

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; author of "Introduction to the Study of International Organization" and other works.

IN the welter of discussion which has taken place in recent years concerning the advisability of American participation in international politics both the advocates and the opponents of such action have tended to commit a common error. The former have come to think, and have regretted, that the United States is not participating in international politics because it has been declared that we would not do so and because such action as we have taken has been taken informally or unofficially. The latter have rejoiced over the declarations of a policy of abstention and have overlooked our actual participation and its decisive effect. A regard for the actual facts rather than for political professions would correct both errors. Official action may be void of results and deserve little notice and be entitled to no commendation, as, for instance, the American signature of the Treaty of Versailles; unofficial action may produce great effects on the actual course of events and deserve all the notice and commendation to which it is entitled.

When the actual events of the past four years of world politics are noted the legend of American non-participation becomes a myth, rather than a legend. Thus, to begin with the event which was ostensibly the cause for the inauguration of a policy of non-participation, the United States, more than any other nation, was the author and founder of the League of Nations itself; this is a fact which our official abdication in 1919-20 does not alter in the slightest degree. Similarly, the United States, in the Summer of 1920, through two distinguished citizens, gave to the

world the World Court by devising a sound and acceptable plan for its organization. Throughout the following three years we repeatedly took an influential, if not decisive, part in many international activities aside from Latin-American affairs and the Washington Conference, where there was no pretense of non-participation. We took part effectively in the Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920; we sat, with benefit to all concerned, with the Reparation Commission; John Bassett Moore was elected in 1921 to act as a Judge on the World Court; various American citizens have served, and still serve, and serve effectively, in various commissions and administrative sections of the League; individual citizens have served in strategic positions to decide the allocation of the City of Memel, to supervise the repatriation of Greek refugees, to superintend the reorganization of Hungarian finances, and so on. Moreover, the United States has taken part actually, whether formally, informally, officially, unofficially or in any other way, in dozens of conferences held by the League, notably the conference on the opium traffic, obscene publications, hygiene and transit. Most of these activities have been conducted under the League of Nations. This is inevitable since the League tends to draw unto itself all matters of international interest. The reality of the American action is thus enhanced in contrast to the professions of non-participation in the League and all its works.

The last and in many ways the most convincing participation of the United States in international politics apart from those admitted as such is asso-



ciated with the settlement of the reparations question. Beginning with an address by Secretary Hughes at New Haven in 1922, and running down through interchanges of opinion between London and Washington in the Fall of 1923 to the work of the Dawes committees themselves, the settlement of the reparations problem has been a matter in which the United States has been the prime mover and most influential factor. That this action has been "unofficial" reveals not so much the nature of the action itself as the nature of the attitude of the Washington Government. Ordinarily no distinction is more important to the student of law and government than the distinction between official and unofficial action, but when the fictitious element in the use of these labels reaches a certain point, the distinction deserves to be vigorously repudiated as a distortion of the actual state of affairs.

In reply to the foregoing picture of actual events there is certain to be raised, however, not merely the professions of current politics, but the legend of a supposed historical American policy of isolation, based on alleged utterances of Washington, Jefferson and other founders of American foreign policy. It is important therefore to examine this point. We then discover that the United States was born on the diplomatic chessboard. The "United Colonies" of 1774-1783 waged their campaign for independence largely in Europe, by seeking concessions in London, treaties of commerce, loans, recognition and alliances in Paris, Madrid, St. Petersburg and in all the capitals of Europe. A diplomatic alliance of the classic type was decisive in the winning of the Revolution. The extensive diplomatic activity of these years was undertaken not out of an empty desire for diplomatic activity for its own sake but to accomplish ulterior purposes, and this fact carries a meaning the reverse of that which might be attributed to it. It means that we adopted a policy of participation precisely because we believed participation beneficial, not be-

cause of love of participation, and this means more than formal participation without keen interest could possibly mean. There were many in Congress who preferred a policy of going it alone. But the more experienced leaders succeeded in demonstrating the utility of diplomacy in view of all the circumstances. In the end we adopted and successfully launched a vigorous foreign policy and diplomatic activity which stood us in good stead.

#### AN ERA OF DIPLOMACY

Independence won, there were further demands for withdrawal and isolation. But again the needs of the situation led naturally to the adoption of an active program of negotiation and treaty making. For forty years the United States played a part in world politics as active as that of the leading powers of Europe. In the first place we tried to secure the adoption of new methods in the conduct of diplomacy which would actually make it easier for us to participate effectively in that activity. We sought a simplification of rules of procedure and precedence, a simplification of ceremonial and etiquette, of rank and the insignia of rank, which would make it possible for our Republican representatives to make as good a showing as their monarchical colleagues in the diplomatic corps. To this day we have maintained this attitude and have been largely successful in securing its adoption.

We have similarly attempted to secure the abandonment of restrictions on international navigation to the end of promoting fuller international intercourse in the form of trade and travel, postal and telegraphic communication (cable and wireless), and so on. We fought port restrictions, the closure of straits and rivers, Colonial navigation laws, and discrimination against alien merchants. We fought piracy on the Barbary coasts and visit and search in time of peace by British cruisers. All not merely in the interests of fuller international intercourse in general, but in order that we ourselves might better participate in that intercourse. The

most spectacular aspect of our fight for freedom of the seas came, of course, with our fight for neutral rights in time of war. We led the world in developing the principles and rules of neutrality, and we did this specifically with a view to obtaining an opportunity for a maximum amount of international intercourse even in time of war. The latest form taken by the American campaign in this direction is found in the "open door" policy of 1899. Applied first to the Philippines and China, the policy was later set forth in relation to diverse territories in Africa and the Near East. Equal opportunities for trade, for obtaining concessions and for investment, are sought to prevent monopolistic restrictions and any exclusion of the United States.

In two episodes the United States actually refused participation in international action. These were cases which involved discussion of certain matters in which we were vitally interested and in which our participation seemed likely to defeat the end we had in view. These episodes were those of the Danish Sound Dues Conference of 1855 and the Declaration of Paris of 1856. An examination of the record shows that nonparticipation in those cases was based precisely upon the conviction that the cause of international intercourse could better be served by temporary abstention. Where such an alternative had to be faced the advisability of choosing that action most conducive to the end in view, even at the expense of temporary loss, must be obvious.

On the other hand, where cooperation or participation promised results, we did not hesitate even to join or attempt to join alliances or confederations or international unions as the case demanded. Mention may be made in this regard of the instructions to our Russian representative in 1780 to sign the convention establishing the "neutral confederacy" known as the Armed Neutrality. Mention may also be made of our participation in such confederations of special jurisdiction as the In-

ternational Union for the Protection of Industrial Property, the Pan American Union, the International Institute of Agriculture, and many others, including the International Hydrographic Union, now a part of the League of Nations.

Perhaps the most familiar form of American action in behalf of international organization and international cooperation is the effort made toward the development of international law and the judicial settlement of international disputes. We have believed that our rights and interests were more likely to be protected and peace maintained in the world if the chicane of diplomacy could be displaced by settled law and its judicial application to the affairs of nations. International government by law, not by men. More international law has been written and studied in the United States than in any other nation. We have submitted more cases to arbitration and concluded more arbitration treaties than any other nation. We have pressed harder for the displacement of arbitration by true judicial settlement and for the establishment of obligatory jurisdiction in international courts than any other nation. American jurists, in the main, evolved the structure of both the old Hague Court of Arbitration and the new Permanent Court of International Justice.

Again the exact purpose of the United States is made clear by the preference shown for this type of international cooperation in contrast to international political alliances. That preference has been based on a conviction that international judicial organization and action offered maximum results; that is, upon the force of, not upon any weakness in, our desire for international cooperation as much.

#### INTERNATIONAL BUREAUS

Similarly, with the attitude of the United States toward the creation and operation of international administrative Bureaus, the United States has supported such activity wherever it promised beneficial results. We have



joined in the work of such bodies in Europe, besides developing in relation to, and in conjunction with, our Latin-American neighbors the most elaborate international legislative and administrative organization known to the world before the League of Nations itself.

How may we reconcile the foregoing record with the ideas and words of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe, and with the well-known opposition on their part to political connections with foreign countries? What did the Fathers have in mind in 1793, 1797, 1801 and 1823, and how many of the activities already described conflict with the patriotic program? The answer is that the founders of American foreign policy intended by their utterances a program of American cooperation with other nations entirely in keeping with the practices just reviewed and almost exactly the opposite of that commonly ascribed to them. A re-examination of the utterances of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe reveals this with unmistakable clearness and reveals the common isolationist interpretation of their attitude as a grossly absurd caricature.

Washington, for example, declared that he adopted the policy of neutrality in 1793, not to take us out of international relations, but to preserve all our relations with all nations parties to the war, as we could not have done if we had attached ourselves to one side only in that struggle. Fear of an interruption in "the connection of the United States with Europe" dictated his action, he declared. From that day to this the American policy of neutrality has consisted, not in a mere negative policy of "safety first," but an affirmative and constructive policy of continued relations with all parties in a given war, and not commercial relations merely, but diplomatic relations of conciliation and mediation at every suitable opportunity. The rôle of the United States, even when itself a belligerent, in mediating an armistice in 1918 is a striking example of the purpose of American neutrality.

Again Washington opposed alliances

not in order to take us out of international cooperation, but precisely because they would injure our action in that direction, not because they were political, as opposed to commercial, arrangements, but because they were "exclusive" or "partial" attachments bound to cut us off from non-members. They were unions of policy—"politics" in that sense. Arrangements of cooperation with several or all nations even in the sphere of political government or administration—the question of which never arose in Washington's time—would in no way fall under his condemnation of "antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others," but rather fulfill his injunction that we cultivate peace and harmony with all powers.

This note of opposition, not to general international combinations, but to special alliances, has been struck repeatedly by the most astute of our leaders of foreign policy. Rush told Canning in 1823 that it was against our policy to accede "to the policy of one of its [Europe's] leading powers in opposition to the projects avowed by others." Roosevelt told the Kaiser in 1906 that we could not "take sides" in the Moroccan dispute, although we could and did arrange a conference and dictate the settlement of that same dispute. Finally President Wilson served the same ideal when insisting in 1918 that there must be no special alliances within the League of Nations: "I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances. \* \* \* There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power."

#### MONROE DOCTRINE RE-EXAMINED

When we come to a re-examination of the Monroe Doctrine we find the same revision and reversal of the traditional interpretation of American policy necessary. In the first place, the action of 1823 was taken in substantial agreement and cooperation with Great Britain; even Adams, usually portrayed as the patriotic father of a purely American declaration, was push-

ing as late as two days preceding the proclamation of the Doctrine for a "concert of opinions and operations" with Great Britain, and declaring that he counted on the cooperation of that country. European statesmen had no doubt concerning the substantial, if not the formal, cooperation of London and Washington. Secondly, the declaration was an act of intervention and guarantee, not of withdrawal. We undertook to make the Western World safe for republicanism. In Buenos Aires it was felt that "the weight of our moral character as a nation in the scale of Europe is equal to armies in the field," and Webster characterized the action by saying that the people of the nation saw, and rejoiced to see, "that on a fit occasion our weight had been thrown into the right scale." The declaration at the time was an act of courageous and intelligent intervention, not of shortsighted and cowardly withdrawal. Finally the Monroe Doctrine has constituted, ever since 1823, the most powerful single ground for diplomatic activity on our part. To undertake to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of a score of Latin-American republics has not been calculated precisely to take us out or keep us out of international politics. That we undertook more in 1823 than we could effectively perform for some years to come only enhances the definiteness of the intention to act as we did.

If reference be made to the so-called self-denying clauses of the Doctrine nothing will be found to reverse these conclusions. We promised to keep out of the domestic affairs of the Latin-American States and out of the "internal concerns" (Monroe) of the European powers. The later development of Pan-American cooperation was never felt to be a violation of, but a natural supplement to, the Doctrine; so our participation in international politics with the States of Europe—on such questions as interested us—has never had any relation to the Doctrine one way or another.

The utterances of 1793-1823 repre-

sented a policy of intervention, of cooperation, of participation, not of withdrawal, non-cooperation and isolation. The seventy years following the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine saw some diminution of American activity in international politics proper, arbitration and similar activities apart; but the reasons for that diminution and for the termination of the period of inaction all imply many things in full accord with the views here expressed. The comparative inactivity of the United States in international politics in the middle quarters of the nineteenth century was due to four causes. We were busy opening up and developing our own territory and its resources. We were engaged in the slavery controversy and the Civil War. Neither we nor the Latin-American States had developed many important interests abroad. And Europe herself was quiet and at peace for a generation, and then became engaged in the settlement of problems wholly European in character. It was notably a period of quiescence in world politics. There is, therefore, no need to explain American inactivity during this period by recourse to any preconceived theory of isolation, but to incidental or external causes affecting European States as well as ourselves. We acted during this period and acted vigorously whenever occasion demanded. Decades which saw the Danish sound dues settlement and the Geneva arbitration were hardly years of complete inactivity. It may, indeed, be averred with entire accuracy that during this quiet period in world politics the efforts made by the United States toward international cooperation over and above the minimum required for defense of immediate national interests exceeded those of any other single power.

#### INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

At the end of the last century and opening of the present century domestic peace and prosperity reigned. American interests abroad developed rapidly.



Latin-American relations with Europe became more complicated and active. Europe herself began to reach out for colonial and commercial prizes all over the world. Naturally enough, and quite irrespective of any preconceived theory of foreign policy, the United States expanded her activities in ways too numerous to mention. The diplomatic and consular services were reorganized and expanded; we fought a war with Spain and acquired American and Asiatic colonies thereby; proclaimed the open-door policy in the Orient; took part in The Hague conferences; engineered a settlement of the Boxer trouble in China, peace at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and a settlement between France and Germany in 1906; in the years just preceding the World War we were taking part as actively in international politics and in organized international cooperation as we did in 1793-1823 and as actively as any European power.

There remain three considerations to be noted. The first is the significance of the peculiar stress placed by the United States on the desirability of international conferences during the period from 1899 to 1914. We repeatedly urged—in connection with the Boxer question, the Russo-Japanese War, the Moroccan question, at The Hague, and so on—that that method and that alone was adequate to regulate the common affairs of the nations. Viewed against the background of the policy of Washington and the American practice of arbitration and the Pan-American system, this position must seem to be of the essence of American foreign policy. And its fundamental idea is that of organized international governmental cooperation as opposed to the anarchy of unilateral national action at the caprice of each power or the unreliable and unstable flux of casual international relations at discretion. Secondly, it must seem thoroughly natural that the United

States should, as it did, give to the world the League of Nations. The policy of the United States from 1914 to 1919 was thoroughly consistent with that of Washington and Jefferson, Hay and Roosevelt and Taft. It was the perfectly logical culmination of a century of preparation. Finally, never has the United States deliberately adopted a policy of isolation, never has an American President or Secretary of State taken such a position. On the contrary, the founders of American foreign policy proposed, adopted and pursued a policy of action and not of inaction, of courage and not of cowardice, of intelligence and not of stupidity, of constructive accomplishment and not of destructive defeatism.

It might be thought that to argue against a policy of isolation is to attack a straw man, especially if no official pronouncement of such an extreme policy has ever been made. And it is, indeed, noteworthy that official pronouncements have merely decried our participation in "purely European questions," with which position no sane person could quarrel. But the trouble is that in general discussion this position is rapidly broadened into a policy of general non-participation, and goes on the assumption that we could not possibly be interested in European questions, whereas what is needed is an unbiased examination of each question of international politics, whether it arise in Europe or elsewhere, to discover whether we have a substantial interest at stake or not. For this reason we have to deal with the idea of general non-participation rather than the more limited policy of non-participation. The result should be an adherence to the scientific and sane policy of participation in accordance with our interests—including non-participation in absence of interests—rather than rabid non-participation or rabid participation on either extreme.

---



Gilliams

"Never Again a Hapsburg!"—a striking declaration by wounded veterans of the war at a demonstration in Vienna

# Tragic Life and Death of Franz Josef, Emperor-King

By GEORGE A. SCHREINER

Former Associated Press Correspondent in Vienna; author of "From Berlin to Bagdad" and other works; co-author with de Siebert of "Entente Diplomacy and the World." Mr. Schreiner was dean of the press representatives at the obsequies of Franz Josef at Vienna in 1916.

THE story of the life and death of Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, is dramatized history. Tragedy had hovered over the House of Hapsburg for many generations. The old Emperor before his death had experienced and survived almost every human vicissitude; he had been bereft of his nearest and dearest by assassination; insanity had dogged the footsteps of his family, and gloom, like a sinister raven, had sat over the lintel of the great doors in his purple-hung rooms in the Imperial Palace in Vienna and in the royal palace of Schönbrunn. Pride and magnificence had in his case

been mated with every human sorrow; before he died he had drunk the cup of every disillusion. He left an empire tottering to its fall. "Vanitas vanitatum!" the warning cry of the Book of Ecclesiastes which has resounded down the ages, the vanity of the gauds and tinsels of an ever-changing and forgetful world, was never more dramatically exemplified than in the case of Austria's dead grandeur. The passing of her Emperor just before the dawning of a new era contains much food for meditation.

As Dean of the Press Representatives at the State obsequies in Vienna in No-



vember, 1916, I received impressions which are still as vivid as when they were recorded. These memories, which I have borne with me for almost eight years, are published for the first time in the following pages. Austria, now a republic, is rising from the ruins wrought by the most terrible war of human history, and with the help of the nations—some among them her former enemies—is entering on the hopeful path of reconstruction. This very fact, however, adds poignancy, by very force of contrast, to the drama of a great empire's dissolution, symbolized by the death of Franz Josef, Emperor-King of the dual empire of Austria-Hungary.

The beginning of the end occurred two years after the outbreak of the World War. In July, 1916, the Emperor, a tall, spare man of 86, of military bearing, attired in the pike-blue uniform of his troops, reviewed some battalions of the Austrian army on the eve of their departure for the fronts in Russia and Italy. There had been the usual rumors that "Old Franz" was dead, and it may have been more to show that he was still alive than to inspect his soldiers that the old man was permitted to venture beyond Schönbrunn and its park, and the villa occupied by his friend, Frau Katharina Schratt, the former actress who was said to have usurped the place of the wife—Empress Elizabeth—who was assassinated by an Italian in Geneva on Sept. 10, 1898.

This review of the Deutschmeister troops was the last public function that the Emperor ever undertook. Upon his return to Schönbrunn it was found that he had contracted a cold. His doctor spared no efforts to cure him, and all might have been well had the Emperor been less stubborn about taking walks in the park too lightly clothed. It was finally agreed that the Emperor should limit his walks to certain wind-sheltered terraces of the palace, and should wear a greatcoat to protect him from the cold; this last condition, however, was disregarded by the monarch, with the inevitable result. One day, toward the

end of October, he took another walk in the park while insufficiently clad for any man of his years. "Old Franz" felt younger than he was, and resented attention likely to hamper his personal volition. On more than one occasion it had taken the combined efforts of many members of his entourage to keep him from going to one of the fronts.

This last violation of the physician's régime, however, proved too much for the Emperor's enfeebled constitution. His condition grew more and more serious, and finally it became clear to all that his death was a matter of days. On Nov. 10 his daughter Gisela, wife of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, arrived, and on Nov. 21, about eleven in the forenoon, he whispered to her, as she was bending over him: "Ich bin müde" (I am tired). Two hours later, the last of the Hapsburgs to die an Emperor was wrapped in eternal rest.

#### EVENTS OF FRANZ JOSEF'S REIGN

Old Franz might well be tired. Born on Aug. 18, 1830, he ascended the throne of his forebears on Dec. 2, 1848, in the midst of unrest and revolution. Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated; Archduke Francis had given up all claims to succession; the system had put this 18-year-old boy at the head of a Government beset by enemies without and within. Throughout Europe the revolutionaries were active and Hungary, led by Kossuth, was ready to part company with Austria. King Charles Albert of Sardinia was getting ready to make war upon the riven dual monarchy. Franz Josef, or those who acted for him, called in the Russians to subdue the Hungarians, and Austrian troops routed the Italians.

An odd thing was to occur. One of the most impetuous of the revolting Magyars was the young son of the Countess Károlyi. He paid the death penalty for his revolutionary ardor. The young Emperor had nothing to do with the execution of the fiery lad. But upon Franz Josef and his house fell the curse of Károlyi's mother, a really classical instance of its kind:

May heaven and hell blast your happiness! May your family be exterminated! May you be smitten in the persons of those you love best! May your children be brought to ruin, and may your life be wrecked, and may you after that live on in lonely and horrible grief without end, to tremble when you recall the name of Károlyi!

In 1853 an attempt on the life of the young Emperor was made in Hungary. The following year he was married to the woman who was really his choice, the one happy experience, perhaps, that he knew in all his long life. The bitter feud between Austria and Hungary was not settled until 1867, and meanwhile the Emperor had antagonized Russia by not coming to her help in 1854 in the Crimean War. Though he had deserted the power that had helped his Government to overcome the Hungarians and had done this to the advantage of France, the young Emperor found himself at war with the French Empire in 1859. In 1864 he campaigned against Denmark with Prussia and two years later his troops suffered humiliating defeat at Sadowa at the hands of that ally. Four years later Franz Josef stood aloof when the German Allies and France were at war and thus saved the day for his kinsmen in the North. In 1870-71 Austria had not yet forgotten 1859 and in 1914 France had not yet forgotten 1871.

Meanwhile many other afflictions had come to "Our Franz," as his subjects called him. His only son Rudolph died mysteriously at his hunting lodge, Mayerling; how he died only the father and a few faithful retainers knew. The Emperor's brother Maximilian had been executed at Queretaro, Mexico, and his sister-in-law, Carlotta, of whom Franz was very fond, had lost her reason. Another sister-in-law, the Duchesse d'Alençon, was burned to death in the Charity Bazaar fire in Paris. A favorite niece of the Emperor was burned to death at Schönbrunn.

The cares of state had not grown less. The concordat with Rome, which had been entered into in 1855 and which had restored the rights of the Catholic



FRANZ JOSEF IN 1848

It was in this year, at the age of 18 years, that he ascended the Austrian throne.

Church rescinded by Emperor Joseph III., was abrogated in 1870. This act made the Emperor persona non grata with the Church. Though a formal reconciliation with Hungary had been effected, political animosities in Hungary had not been appeased. On the other hand, the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Italians, Croats, Rumanians, Poles, Ruthenians and other discontented racial groups within the empire, did their best to rock the ship of state.

Other troubles came. To repay Austria for her favorable attitude toward Prussia, Prince Bismarck saw to it that the ruler of the dual monarchy was put in military control in Bosnia and Herzegovina when those two Provinces were taken from Turkey by the Berlin Congress of 1878. In 1908 this temporary arrangement was completed by annexation. From that time on Old Franz lived on a powder barrel. The explosion



came on June 28, 1914, when the Emperor's heir-apparent, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his consort, Princess Sophie of Hohenberg, were assassinated at Serajevo, Bosnia. The place of the heir was taken by Charles Francis Ferdinand, son of Archduke Otto, and nephew of the murdered man, and Europe went to war.

Two years after the conflict was unchained Franz Josef breathed his last. He had reigned for sixty-seven years, holding the record in our era. Queen Victoria had ruled for sixty-two and one-half years, while Louis XIV. of France had governed for sixty years, though King for seventy. The curse of Countess Károlyi had been more than fulfilled in so far as Franz Josef and his family were concerned. It even fell short of the ultimate result. There is no longer an Austro-Hungarian Empire, there are no more Hapsburg Emperor-Kings. The men who sat at Paris and St. Germain and the Austrian Parliament put an end to all that. With the death of Franz Josef a dynasty vanished which flatterers had connected with the Caesars.

#### THE EMPEROR'S DEATH

It was a brisk November day on which Vienna was stunned by the news that Old Franz was dead. For no particular reason the announcement had been held back for two hours; only a few ministers, court attachés and newspaper men had been apprised of what had taken place. What news for what a moment: in the midst of the campaign in Rumania, the Brusilov offensive in the Carpathian Alps, the offensives on the Isonzo and in Trentino, in Flanders, France, Mesopotamia and Macedonia; in the midst of food scarcity and even famine, shortage of clothing and fuel, lack of men and materials of war, dearth of friends and plethora of enemies, with the empire quaking and cracking on every side, and statesmen not to be found; at this moment of ruin, desolation and disaster, the death of "Our Franz" was formally announced. The announcement stated that the Emperor

had died, but every Austrian knew that no mere man, but an institution, had perished.

The first thing done was to have Charles become automatically Emperor of Austria. Coronation and other ceremonials were considered unnecessary. The will of the dead Emperor stated that he wished his body to be laid away without the mutilation which the Spanish ceremonial prescribed, to wit: That his heart be withdrawn and laid away in a silver urn, the viscera taken out and put in a copper vessel. For a night the body of the monarch lay on the deathbed, almost hidden by flowers. On the following day it was embalmed, with the result that the body discolored so badly that a lying-in-state in the chapel of the Hofburg, with face exposed as contemplated, was out of the question. The fact that the face of the man whom so many had seen was never seen again gave rise to the most sensational reports.

Along the Ring in Vienna sped a large limousine. It had come from Schönbrunn. The car was preceded by another, the driver of which did much tooting of horns, joined together like Pipes-of-Pan and emitting a musical signal when the rubber bulb was pressed. It was a bright November day, with the last leaves falling from the lime trees along the splendid avenue. But Vienna was bleak and disconsolate. It did not heed the man in the second automobile. No one suspected that this was Emperor William II., on his way to the railway station via the German Embassy, and scheduled to depart by fast special to his headquarters at Charlesville-Mézières, France. War had become so pressing a business that Our Franz had to be buried without his august comrade-in-arms and ally being present. On all Vienna this made a painful and disquieting impression.

Two days later the remains of the Emperor were conveyed from Schönbrunn to the Hofburg chapel. According to rules ancient and immutable the transfer had to be made at night, with all the lights in the Mariahilfer Strasse (Street of Mary Help) and the adjacent streets

and alleys extinguished. It was pneumonia weather, but the streets were crowded with poorly clad men, women and children, burghers and soldiers, with one fur-ensconced war profiteer to every thousand war victims. Though the blasts of wind from the Semmering were cold and the drizzling rain penetrating, the crowd waited patiently. Schönbrunn was a goodly distance off. The van of the funeral train finally came into view. It was composed of men on horseback bearing torches. In the inky darkness the torchbearers could not be seen, with the exception of that part of their black clothing upon which fell the light of the fluttering flames. They rode black horses, whose hoofs had been muffled with rubber shoes.

The torchbearers were followed by men in strange uniforms dating from medieval times, men armed with halberds and lances, arquebuses and great swords; feathers of all colors drooped and flopped in the damp air from bright steel casques, and the red, unsteady flare of torches, gleamed on burnished armor. The crowd had bared heads; many were kneeling on the wet pavement. The horses snorted and neighed and the cavalcade of death went on its way.

Troops of later periods appeared, with pikes and muskets, more lances, more helmets and more breastplates. Standards draped in crêpe and hanging limp in wetness were carried by. Some cannons of ancient make rolled slowly on, borne by wheels that made no noise. One gained the impression that Charon had ferried back all the military pabulum acheronties of the Hapsburg dynasty's reign, to show how long the ancestors of Old Franz had ruled over so much of Europe. There was much red in the costumes of the men-at-arms; the



FRANZ JOSEF I.  
Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary from 1848  
to his death on Nov. 21, 1916

Arcierengarde reminded one of hordes of imps let off for a holiday by his Satanic Majesty. Back of this corps d'élite of other times rode the squadrons of Empress Therese, bedecked with fur tolmans, gay atilas and fur calpacs set at a rakish slant.

Quaint equipages as from a museum emerged from the gloom not lit by torch flames. In these carriages rode Minister and functionary of State, priest and dignity of seats of learning.

A dull rumble came out of the night and drowned the muffled undertone of the procession. It was the ancient, eight-ton royal catafalque on wheels. A huge black thing it was, preceded, flanked and followed by torch bearers. The wheeled black bier was large enough to



carry the coffin of a Titan. Its low and massive wheels crunched on the pavement even though, according to ancient custom, they had been wound with lengths and lengths of some black fabric. The black car creaked with age at every joint; from the devout came mutterings of prayer.

More carriages, more troops. As the end of the funeral train passed the window I had rented for the occasion, the great car of death entered the avenue of gigantic flambeaux, from which flames, fed by gas streaming from the trunk mains, leaped skyward. As the last file of the rear guard entered the gate of the Hofburg, the gas feeding the flares was cut off and all was night and rain and wind. The crowd dispersed, sniffling and coughing. Not a few of them joined the Emperor in death afterward; there was an epidemic of pulmonary diseases inaugurated that night—a sort of voluntary holocaust in honor of the last of the Hapsburgs buried from the throne.

#### THE LYING IN STATE

It was still in the Hofburg chapel. The surrounding gloom was relieved



The last portrait of the Emperor Franz Josef

only by the escutcheons of Austria and Hungary and their territories on the draped walls, by the flowers on the floor, by the bits of white about the headdress of the nuns, by a few white faces, by the gloom-subdued shimmer of the yellow cross on the pall and the specks of light hovering fugitively over yellow candles. In the air floated the scent of flowers and incense and the odor of burning wax. The nuns about the catafalque said prayers in sibilant whispers, and through the thick walls came faint echoes of the city's noises.

Plain mortals came in and went out again—noiselessly, as if apparitions themselves. Looks, shy or furtive, were cast at the pall-covered object on the dais, which contained all there was left of an Emperor. The younger ones left with curiosity unsatisfied written on their faces; those of more years shook their heads. He in the cross-adorned box had lived beyond their ken. Ever since they recalled anything well, Franz had been. And he seemed to come from nowhere; he had always been. When the oldest had still been very young, Franz was Emperor—he had, it seemed, always been Emperor. It was he who had healed the breach with Hungary, he who had kept together the dual monarchy and its crown lands and provinces on the frontiers. Just how he had done it, few could say. Franz had made a failure of every war that he had waged. Everything that he had done, it seemed, had miscarried. But somehow the State had survived and at times had even prospered; it was still one of the "Great Powers."

He in the coffin had had an able teacher in statecraft, none other than Metternich himself. Though not himself nimble-minded or resourceful, Franz had recognized such qualities as being the prime requisites of princes, as Machiavelli and Metternich had said; he had therefore sought and found in others what nature had not given him. But even about this Franz had been reticent and unassuming enough; he had never insisted upon being a great man himself. He had not cared for greatness

because it had not seemed to him to be worth while. To Franz Josef very little had mattered. The blows of fate had made him a cynic. "Alles schon dageswesen" (everything has happened before) he would say curtly to his flattering intimates. Vanity was not one of his failings. He was punctilious in exacting homage, but put it all down to the account of his position. There was no item in the list of human afflictions with which he had not been familiar since his eighteenth year. He had seen the very office he held for so long cast aside by his kin as others might renounce a trivial employment.

November 30, 1916, was a typical late Autumn day. Through rifts in the leaden sky peeped patches of Vienna's soft blue sky, but there was not a ray of sunlight. Under the leafless lime trees on the Ring had assembled all those of the capital's population that had not gone to the front. There was to be a great procession while the funeral rites in St. Stephen's Cathedral were on; those who were not among the higher luminaries would thus also have an opportunity to participate, which was fit and proper, for Old Franz had really been much of a townsman to the Viennese.

The press had been given the choir loft on the right of the high altar. Perched some thirty feet above the pavement of the huge church, we were able to witness the coming events, so far as anything could be seen at all in the black interior. Walls and columns had been draped in black, and the floor was crowded to the last inch with men and women dressed in black, with here and there a gray uniform. The only light in the building fell through the stained-glass windows, and that was little enough, owing to the sunless day and the dark hues of the draperies worn by the saints and prophets standing in the way of the light.

The special guests began to arrive. The altar boy had succeeded in lighting all the candles and driving some of the gloom out of the well-like niche, on the floor of which was now discernible a low catafalque covered with yellow



THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH

A daughter of Maximilian Josef, Duke of Bavaria, she was married to the Emperor Franz Josef in 1854 and assassinated by an Italian anarchist at Geneva in 1897. The original of this picture was the Emperor's favorite and hung always in his study in the Hofburg in Vienna.

plush, which gave one the impression of a saffron island in a sombre sea.

Those who were to occupy the diplomatic loge put in appearance. All those who had been accredited to his late Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty and had not been driven away by the war were present, among them the American Ambassador, Frederic Court-



land Penfield, and his wife. But the assemblage in the loge was small. Those who would have added much lustre—for instance, the British, French and Russian Ambassadors—were absent. In front of the diplomatic loge and against the walls of the altar niche, facing the catafalque on which the coffin was to rest, had been placed some of the pews of the church. The Papal Nuncio and his entourage had seated themselves in those nearest the altar.

The first of distinguished members of the Hapsburgs to arrive was Archduke Maximilian, brother of Emperor Charles. The children of the man who would have been Emperor instead of Charles but for the assassin's work at Serajevo came next. Another flock of high Church dignitaries were the next to arrive, adding dashes of red to the scene. The men in the red robes and capes, under mitres of white, red and gold, were the only ones showing by their demeanor that they were at home on this occasion. All of them produced little prayer books and began to read them. Emperors might rule for a time, make concordats with Rome and annul them afterward, but in the end whatever there remained of such had to be brought to them.

The master of ceremonies was now very busy, going in and out of the little door to the right of the altar, ushering people through that door and taking them to their seats. He was especially obsequious before a stout old man in German uniform—the King of Bavaria. The next personages he escorted were the King of Saxony and the Crown Princes of Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Bulgaria. The last of the most prominent among these royal personages was Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria. Ferdinand was one of the chief guests, first, by reason of being the independent ally of the late Emperor, and second because he had stood high with Franz Josef.

#### EMPEROR CHARLES AND EMPRESS ZITA

The next to arrive were the new rulers of Austro-Hungary, Emperor

Charles and Empress Zita. They were preceded by the 3-year-old heir-apparent, Archduke Otto. He was dressed in ermine and carried his little cap of the same material under his arm, walking very erect. Though Old Franz had held him on his knees many a time, it was very evident that the child did not understand the occasion. Otto stepped through the little door alone. When he had gone four or five baby paces, he looked around and waited for somebody. A tall woman, heavily veiled in black, came up to him; it was the Empress Zita, his mother. He took her hand and, having evidently some notion where they were to sit, began to pull his mother in that direction. The Empress, however, held him back until they were joined by a slim young man in the uniform of an Austro-Hungarian Field Marshal; this was Emperor Charles. Led by the child, they reached a row of chairs covered with black velvet at the foot of the catafalque. As he was about to seat himself, the young Emperor cast his eyes over the august assembly. The first one whom he recognized was his brother Maximilian. He bowed slightly, and bowed again several times as he caught the eyes of others, among them Ambassador and Mrs. Penfield.

The Emperor was present and the solemnities could begin. As the great doors of the main entrance of the cathedral were swung open, the lower part of the ancient funeral car became visible without. From it the casket containing the remains of Old Franz was being lifted. The next moment it was borne high on the shoulders of men and then passed from the light without into the impenetrable shadows of the church.

A delay ensued. The men carrying the coffin had to wait until they had been joined by the altar boys bearing candles and swinging censers. Finally, the boys had found their places at the head and on the flanks of the procession. The men and women in the altar niche and the diplomatic loge had risen. The coffin, still covered with the black pall with the yellow cross on it, was set

on the catafalque. They who had brought in the coffin, and their escorts, retreated to the places assigned them and the last rites began.

In the choir loft above the main entrance of the cathedral, the only musical item of the mass, the Kyrie Eleison, was sung, without accompaniment. When the last notes of this impressive chant had died away, the Church dignitary in the highest mitre blessed the remains of the Emperor once more. On a signal given by the master of ceremonies, the pallbearers seized the casket, lifted it upon their shoulders and carried it back to the funeral car, followed by the Emperor and his family, the foreign royal mourners, the archducal clan, the diplomats, the special representatives of the Austro-Hungarian, German, Bulgarian and Turkish military and naval establishments, and, finally, the nobility of the empire-kingdom. The funeral of the last Hapsburg Emperor-King to die in office in our days was over.

#### ALONE IN ETERNAL PEACE

Just as the coffin was placed in the funeral car the sun came out for a mo-

ment, though already so low on the horizon that its rays reached only the splendid Gothic spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral. By the time the mourners had found their places in the procession that was to accompany the remains of the dead Emperor from the cathedral to the crypt of the Capuchins, only a few blocks away, the vast crowd that had filled the square about the cathedral, the Graben, Kaertnerstrasse and Rotenturmgasse had melted away to find places of vantage further on. As the procession moved off the sun disappeared behind a cloud, and made the November day bleaker than it had been before. For days and days afterward the augural import of this disturbed the normally light-hearted people of Vienna.

The door was open as the pallbearers and their burden appeared at the head of the stairs that led to the crypt. The coffin of the Emperor was placed on the marble base prepared for it, and then those who had borne it thither left the vault to the monks, the withered tenants of the sarcophagi and the bizarre crowd of noble knights and court ladies in marble who hold vigil over the remains of the emperor-kings and empress-queens they served in life.



The funeral of the Emperor Franz Josef: The hearse, drawn by eight black horses, leaving the Hofburg, Vienna, followed by the Imperial Bodyguard in full dress uniform



# The Macedonian Witches' Cauldron

By VANGEL SUGAREFF

Associate Professor of History, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas

**T**ROUBLE is again brewing in the Balkans, and Macedonia is once more the pivot around which new complications in the Near East revolve. The Macedonian question is one of long standing and one the solution of which is beset with difficulties. The Versailles Peace Conference did nothing effective to bring about such a solution. There were some private conferences and memoranda given to various peace delegations, but Macedonia remained to the Balkan diplomats, like Italy to Metternich, a mere geographical expression.

The roots of the Macedonian problem delve deep beneath the complex ramifications of European jealousies and the cross-purposes and rivalries between the Balkan States. It may safely be asserted that no other section of Europe has been so deplorably wretched as a result of international dissensions. The systematic devastation of Macedonia can be mainly attributed to no other cause than the malevolent machination of the monarchical and autocratic Governments of Austria-Hungary and Russia, both of which anachronisms have now met their predestined fate. The conflict for supremacy in the Balkans between these two powers was at once the origin and the evolution of the Macedonian question. England had been the traditional enemy to Russia's Near Eastern policy, but with the appearance of Austria in the political arena of the Balkans the course of European history had to assume a totally new aspect. Austria could no longer hope to figure as a power in Western Europe. She had been badly thrashed by Prussia and Italy; her supremacy in the German confederation had been hopelessly destroyed; she

could hardly compete commercially with Prussia. Self-interest, therefore, dictated that her energies should follow the line of least resistance—viz., the Balkans. In following this course, she had to face both Serbian and Russian opposition, but Count Andrassy, the newly appointed Premier of Austria-Hungary and an adept of Bismark's Pan-German schemes, could easily manage Serbia; and as for Russia, he could depend on the help of Bismarck, whose effusive words and promises led Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Chancellor, to believe that Prussia's only desire was to cultivate the friendship of Russia as a token of gratitude for her services to the cause of Germany in 1870. Thus the policy of Austria-Hungary, summarized in the now famous phrase, *Drang nach Osten* (Urge toward the East), began its work auspiciously in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War, which was terminated by the Treaty of San Stefano.

This war had been undertaken by Russia with the secret understanding of both Germany and Austria in regard to a possible settlement of European Turkey. The terms of the San Stefano Treaty were submitted to Bismarck and Andrassy before they were handed to the Turks, but since Article 6 of the treaty stipulated the creation of a Greater Bulgaria in which the whole of Macedonia except the City of Saloniki was included, they saw that Russia was aiming to curb Austria's aspirations in the Balkans, and when England formally demanded the revision of the San Stefano Treaty, she found in Germany and Austria two ready supporters. France and Italy were not inclined to support either side, hence Russia found herself isolated, and decided to submit

the San Stefano Treaty for a revision, which finally occurred at Berlin, Germany.

EVIL EFFECTS OF BERLIN TREATY

The net results of the Berlin Congress, which lasted from June 13 to July 13, 1878, was prodigious. The treaty of San Stefano was supplanted by the Berlin treaty. Russia was pushed back beyond the Danube, with independent Rumania and the Principality of Bulgaria as the barriers against her aggression toward Constantinople and the Aegean Sea. Austria, with the assistance of Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield, won a great diplomatic victory. She secured the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina; she

was granted the military occupation of the Sandjak of Novibazar; and her railroad concessions in European Turkey remained valid. Besides obtaining this lion's share of the spoils, Count Andrassy further concluded a secret treaty with M. Ristitch, Serbian Commissioner to the Berlin Congress. Serbia agreed to construct the Serbian section of the Vienna-Saloniki Railroad within three years' time; she also agreed to conclude a commercial treaty with Austria and to renounce her claims to the Sandjak of Novibazar. Andrassy promised, in return, to support Serbia's claims to the Bulgarian districts of Nish, Pirot and Vrania, which she finally annexed. This was a triumph for Austrian diplomacy in the Balkans. Austria could build a rail-



A map showing the territory generally known as Macedonia (indicated by the more lightly tinted area)



road connecting Vienna with Saloniki without going through Hungary and Serbia; she secured commercial advantages over Serbia, and by supporting Serbian claims against Bulgaria she created friction between Bulgaria and Serbia—a friction which lasted until the beginning of the World War. Austria's ostensible friendship toward Serbia put an end to Russian influence in Serbia for a long time to come. Thus, the *Drang nach Osten* appeared to be rapidly proceeding to a successful conclusion.

But Macedonia was a stumbling block to the Austrian plans. Of all the tragic mistakes which the diplomats at the Berlin Congress made, that of handing back Macedonia to the Turks had the most deplorable consequences. It was no less a diplomatic blunder when the enforcement of the reforms which were guaranteed to the Macedonians by Article 23 of the Berlin Treaty was entrusted to the two "most interested powers"—Austria and Russia. It became an open secret that, as long as the competition for spheres of influence lasted between these two powers, so long there would be no peace in Macedonia. Every attempt to promulgate the reforms in Macedonia was a lamentable fiasco.

The failure of Austria and Russia to agree upon a division of the Balkan Peninsula between themselves made Macedonia a European inferno. The placid indifference with which these two powers treated the introduction of reforms in Macedonia betrayed their intentions to tell Europe some time in the future that the Turks were not capable of ruling European Turkey and that humanitarian principles demanded the occupation of this territory by the two "most interested powers," in order to assure the peace of Europe and the progress of the Balkan peoples. But they could not compromise either in regard to the division of the Balkan Peninsula or in regard to their spheres of influence. The result of this was that abominable massacres, revolutions and wars have flourished in Macedonia for

the last forty years. Whatever reforms Austria favored, Russia was bound to oppose them, or vice versa, and reforms became proverbial of European incompetence. A description of a few of these reformatory endeavors will suffice to convince the reader that conditions in Macedonia could not be bettered as long as Austria and Russia were the powers delegated to police the Balkan Peninsula.

#### POWERS' REFORM PLAN ABORTIVE

When the news of the Berlin Treaty reached Macedonia, the inhabitants were revolted by the thought that they were to be handed back to Turkish rule. They were so determined to fight for their freedom that an international commission was hurriedly dispatched to promise the people a speedy enforcement of the reforms. Two years after the Berlin Congress the ascendancy of Austria in the Balkans was an accomplished fact. She dominated Serbia's foreign policy. Macedonia was spotted with Austrian consulates which became the centres of plots and counterplots against the inhabitants themselves and against the Turkish Government. The strategic railroads in the Balkans were under Austria's supervision and her cunning diplomacy had outwitted the Russians even on their own ground—Bulgaria. The London Times, true to its tradition of patriotic service to England, warned the English statesmen not to support Austria against Russia, for in a union with Germany, Austria could be a greater menace to British interests in the Near East than Russia could ever hope to be. It took, however, thirty-four years to convince the British statesmen that their policy was detrimental not only to Great Britain but also to the whole world. A complaint from the Turkish Government (published in The London Telegraph) led to the charge that Russia was smuggling ammunition into Bulgaria and was preparing to trample under foot the Berlin Treaty. The European powers were alarmed and another international commission met at Constantinople in Janu-



New home in Macedonia of a Greek family formerly resident in Turkey

ary, 1880, to work out a plan of reforms for the European provinces. The Sultan knew that the concert of Europe would never have recourse to force to compel the execution of the recommended reforms. He therefore set up counter-demands upon the powers and the projected "Law of the Vilayets" passed into oblivion. In vain did the Macedonians shower European chancelleries with petitions for the enforcement of the promised reforms. Because of this ill-treatment of Macedonia by the European powers, the Central Revolutionary Committee was organized, the aim of which was to work for an autonomous Macedonia.

The subsequent years were marked by periodic uprisings in small districts, followed by periodic revivals of interest in Macedonia, but no energetic effort was made to ameliorate the lot of the people. The revolution of 1895 attracted no special attention in Europe and Macedonia was treated as terra incognita. This apparent indifference was largely due to the rivalry of Austria and Russia in Macedonia. These two Powers had been watching each other closely for nearly twenty years. Though Austria seemed to have a grip upon Macedonia and was waiting for a pretext to get direct control of affairs in

that region, she realized that Russia would have to be compensated for any Austrian advantage in European Turkey. The two rivals, however, could not agree on the division of spoils, and the only alternative seemed the establishment of a truce. Emperor Francis Joseph met the Russian Czar in 1897 and solemnly agreed to maintain the status quo in the Balkan Peninsula. A formal promise of their disinterestedness in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire was given to the Sultan, who relaxed what little order he had been hitherto inclined to enforce and let loose bands of brigands to prey upon the defenseless population of Macedonia. Rape, abduction, massacre and burning of villages and fields was the order of the day. The Macedonian reply was to effect the most powerful revolutionary organization that the Balkans had ever known.

#### REVOLT OF 1903 SUPPRESSED

By the end of the year 1902 the European Powers were astounded when the news reached their capitals that a revolution in Macedonia was inevitable. In the following year the revolt took place and was suppressed in the usual Turkish fashion. Austria and Russia kept their word with the Sultan and re-



mained passive. They were awakened from their lethargy when the Marquis of Lansdowne presented over their heads a British plan of reforms, and once more these "most interested Powers" made the Macedonian question their sole anxiety. The two Emperors met at Murzteg and a grandiose plan for a settlement of the Macedonian trouble was devised. The British-Franco-Italian interest in Macedonia was set aside by the German diplomatic manoeuvres and the so-called Murzteg program of reforms was to be the best solution for the Macedonian question. But this solution proved to be a delusion. According to one provision, Macedonia was divided into five zones, which were supervised respectively by agents from the five great Powers. Hitherto there had been only two Powers competing for spheres of influence; now there were five. The result of this zone system of administration was not only a complete failure but it was also detrimental to the people. The agents of each Power vied with each other to strengthen the influence of their respective States, and used no scruples in inciting the people to fight against each other. The result was that Macedonia for the next four years bore the appearance of a human cockpit. It is no exaggeration to say that the contemptible German propaganda played havoc with human life in Macedonia.

#### THE YOUNG TURK DECEPTION

The approach of the new era in Turkey in the year of 1908 was hailed as the last word in the solution of the Macedonian question. Indeed the Young Turk movement, embellished with the symbolic language of the French Revolution, promised to be a panacea for the wrongs in Macedonia. Enver Bey, the political parvenu in Turkey, boldly declared, "We are all brothers; there are no longer Bulgars, Greeks, Rumanians, Jews, Mussulmans; under the same blue sky we are all equal; we glory in being Ottomans." The world was hypnotized by this sudden transformation from Old Turkey to a Turkey

of the Twentieth Century. In the first few days, filled with vibrant and exuberant enthusiasm, the Macedonians cherished hope that their dreams for Macedonia were to be fulfilled. In the days that followed, however, the words of Enver Bey, "We glory in being Ottomans," assumed their true interpretation. A cosmopolitan body politic, such as that of the Turkish Empire, could be successfully ruled by granting a liberal local autonomy, but this, in the long run, might lead to secession. The suppression of national ideals which the Young Turks embarked led to general dissatisfaction and to the consequent downfall of Turkey. The Young Turks substituted for the immortal formula of the French Revolution—liberty, fraternity, equality—that of the Prussian King, who, replying to a mob in 1848, paraphrased it, "Infantry, cavalry and artillery." The Ottomanization policy of the Young Turks with its accompanied evils rekindled the national aspirations of the Balkan States, and the fiction of Pax Ottomanica was pigeon-holed in the Ottoman archives, where previous reforms and constitutions had been safely deposited. Once again Macedonia, the danger zone of Europe, became the centre of international politics.

That the concert of Europe has failed to introduce reforms in Macedonia no one disputes. The Balkan coalition was hailed by its makers as the only panacea for Macedonia. The young Turk policy of denationalization and the Austrian menace in the Balkans which was augmented by Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Young Turk revolution, hastened the formation of this coalition. These two influences, together with Russia's activity to counteract Austria's further march toward Saloniki, brought about the establishment of the Balkan League. Previous to 1912, there had been an academic discussion concerning a Balkan federation, but the various claims on Macedonia of the several Balkan States could not be reconciled. Macedonia, "the rock on which all attempts at a Balkan federa-

tion have split," besides being the arena of Austrian and Russian diplomatic intrigues for spheres of influence, has been a breeding ground for the rival propaganda of each Balkan State against each other, fostering mutual hatreds for over a generation. It is true that the danger of the Turkification of their co-nationals in Macedonia stifled temporarily every evidence of racial hatred among the Macedonians and facilitated an understanding between the Balkan States. Unfortunately, that understanding was reached under Russian tutelage, and by common consent Serbia and Bulgaria became the protégés of Russian diplomacy in the Balkans. By the Greco-Bulgarian alliance and the Bulgarian understanding with Montenegro, the dream of a Balkan League was at last realized. Its début in the political arena of Europe was a decided success of Russian as well as Entente diplomacy. The Central Powers saw in the Balkan League a real check to their "Mittleuropa" schemes, but German diplomacy soon found a most effective weapon with which to combat this danger to pan-German aspirations in the Balkans.

#### FROM BALKAN WARS TO WORLD WAR

When the Balkan allies attacked the Ottoman Empire, they were proclaimed by the civilized world as the Crusaders against the encroaching tide of Mohammedanism. The speedy expulsion of the Turks from Europe startled the military experts, who have always paid a high tribute to the fighting qualities of the Turk. The community feeling which aroused the Balkan States against their traditional enemy seemed to have brushed aside all the ancient animosities and promised a new era for the Balkans. But this unity was momentary. The victors over the Ottoman army lost all judgment at the height of their success, and the racial hatred which has made the Balkans a dumping ground of ammunition began to creep into the Balkan body politic.

Germany was not slow to grasp the significance of this important element

in international relations. The Triple Alliance had succeeded in making the first London Peace Conference in 1913 a flat diplomatic failure. Greece and Serbia had occupied Macedonia and Albania, thus creating a barrier to the wild schemes of the Kaiser for a world domination. At the second London conference the imperialist diplomacy of the Central Powers invoked the principle of European solidarity and the rights of Albanian nationality, and succeeded in forcing Greece and Serbia to evacuate Albania. Macedonia was made the apple of contention among the Allies. Serbia was deprived of her much-needed seaport on the Adriatic and Greece was forced to abandon her aspirations in Epirus. Then followed the futile negotiation between Greece and Bulgaria and the exchange of notes between Bulgaria and Serbia, but the irreconcilable attitude of the Allies toward each other led to the outbreak of the second Balkan war. Thus, the war of liberation became a war of territorial aggrandizement which was terminated by the Treaty of Bucharest.

This ignominious document subjected the Macedonian people to the most cruel system of extermination. Forced emigration and deportation was the order of the day, arousing bitter animosity among the Balkan States. No one can doubt that the astute diplomacy of the Central Powers caused the ultimate disruption of the Balkan League, but they failed to break the Balkan barrier to their future plans, because the Greco-Serbian Alliance, which had been concluded against Bulgaria, with the support of Rumania, presented a solid phalanx against the German plan of peaceful penetration in the Balkans. There remained but one alternative; that was, to let loose against this phalanx the brutal force of military power. Thus, at last, the suppressed rivalries between the two groups of powers led to the reverberating explosion of the World War, the result of which was the downfall of Austria and Russia. All this recalls the famous prophecy of Prince Gortchakoff who, as he was



leaving the Berlin Congress, uttered the memorable words: "Austria's tomb is in the Balkans," but he never imagined that Russia, too, would find her grave there.

#### DANGER OF NEW WORLD WAR

From this narration, one does not need much political perspicuity to be convinced that the Macedonian question is an accumulation of the failures of the old European diplomacy. But though the Austrian and the Russian Empires no longer exist, the Balkan States remain. The decision of the Paris Peace Conference to create Greater Greece and the establishment of Yugoslavia as a national unit of three confederate parts have relegated to the background the legend of Balkan hegemony and the balance-of-power theory in the Balkans. But the establishment of these greater Balkan States failed to solve one of the thorniest problems which furnished the most direct cause for the World War, which has been rightly called the Third Balkan War, Nemesis of the first two Balkan Wars, the main issue of which was the final solution of the Macedonian question. Contemporary European historians have agreed that, if there were to be a peace in the Balkans, it should not be merely a *modus vivendi* peace. For it has been demonstrated that what appears to be a trifling trouble in the Balkans might involve the whole world in another conflict. But how can the world be rid of this witches' caldron of petty jealousies and racial hatreds of which Macedonia has been the centre for nearly two generations? The answer to this question is replete with almost insurmountable difficulties. There are, however, certain possible solutions of a question which has been the Gordian knot in European politics for the last forty years. Specifically, there are four ways of settling the Macedonian question.

The first solution would take as the basis of Balkan readjustment the Bulgaro-Serbian alliance of 1912. Though this alliance opens avenues for nego-

tiation between Bulgaria and Serbia, in no way does it offer a satisfactory medium by which Greece, Albania and Rumania may enter into negotiation with Bulgaria. Furthermore the Bulgaro-Serbian agreement takes for granted that the largest part of Macedonia is Bulgarian by language, customs and sentiments, an acknowledgment to which Greece, Albania and Rumania would hardly subscribe. Much less would heroic little Serbia be inclined to listen to the admonitions of her allies after her brave stand against tremendous odds for her national preservation. But to cede territory to a defeated enemy would perhaps be too much to expect from human nature itself.

The second solution of the Macedonian question is to apply the principle of self-determination. The practical execution of this principle in Macedonia is well-nigh impossible under the existing conditions. Any one who is acquainted with Balkan affairs knows that coercion is the principal weapon by which the people of Macedonia have been forced to adopt now this, now that nationality. No successful plebiscite can be carried out unless the Allies make it their international obligation to clear Macedonia from every political agitator whose duty has been to instigate the people to fight against each other. But even if the principle of self-determination can be conducted without any outside pressure upon the Macedonian peasants, no one can doubt that the result will be in favor of Bulgaria. Whether this principle is applied according to nationality or language, a large majority of the population is Bulgarian by sentiment, and speaks a dialect which is most akin to the Bulgarian. Add to this the embroiling conditions which have existed in Macedonia during the last six years and it becomes evident that the application of the principle of self-determination is beyond the scope of practical politics.

The impracticability of these two ways of settling one of the most intri-

cate problems in the Balkans becomes clearer when the reader is reminded that Bulgaria was a tool of Germany during the World War. The political miasma from which the Balkans have suffered in Macedonia hardly admits of doubt, for if the origin of the Balkan as well as European troubles is to be sought for, according to established principles of investigation in matters of political unrest, the interest of the Balkan States in the establishment of an independent Macedonia is beyond debate. The failures of the great powers and the Balkan States to establish peace in Macedonia leave no other alternative than setting up an autonomous Macedonia under a mandatary of the League of Nations. No doubt there would be difficulties to overcome, but there is no reason to apprehend a serious obstruction when it comes to establishing order in Macedonia. The main difficulties would arise from the neighboring States which desire territorial aggrandizement. But, since the partition of Macedonia has failed to pacify them, the European powers would well deserve the praise of the world should they choose to remove one of the most dangerous sources of future wars by the establishment of an independent Macedonia for at least fifteen or twenty years, when the people, if they so desire, may be safely allowed to unite with any one of the Balkan States in some such wise as this:

1. The territorial divisions of the old prefectures, or the nahies (districts) should constitute the cantons.

2. The local government of each community should be maintained. The importance of this feature in the new State cannot be emphasized too much. It will safeguard the interest of each community in which every peasant is keenly interested. It will avoid racial feuds, inasmuch as it will guarantee self-government to each race.

3. There should be a unicameral parliament with representatives from 20,000 constituents. This will give a chance for each canton to have repre-

sentatives of the different races in parliament.

4. There should be an international supervision in Macedonia, so as to assure the beginnings of the State. The League of Nations should delegate a member nation as a mandatory power over Macedonia. The United States would be preferred.

The fourth possible solution has been suggested by the very recent subterranean movements in the Balkans. The aim of the Macedonian revolutionists is to unite all the discordant elements in the Balkan States and to construct a confederated republic under Bolshevik influence. The establishment of a republic in Turkey and Greece does indicate a certain tendency on the part of the Near Eastern peoples to give a chance to an established political principle, but it is doubtful whether they are ready to plunge headlong into communism. The Balkan peasantry is too conservative to go to that extreme. Public sentiment is not ripe for any confederation in the Balkans; the wounds of the war have not as yet been healed and national pride is now at its height. A Belgrade banker told the writer that there were too many undercurrents now in the Balkans to hope for any confederation in which Macedonia might become a member. The revolutionists, however, will open the way to Balkan tranquillity.

If Macedonian refugees are allowed to return, there will be as many intellectuals as in any Balkan State, and surely many more than Albania ever possessed. Independent Macedonia will open the way to Balkan tranquillity. It will mean an economic understanding among the Balkan States, a step toward a Balkan confederation which has been the dream of leading European and Balkan statesmen for years. Above all, it will inspire confidence in the nations of the Western world, upon whom the Balkan States must depend for their future economic and intellectual development.



# Moslem Ferment in French North Africa

By ELIZABETH KNOWLTON

FRENCH North Africa is the keystone to the edifice of France's Moslem possessions. Her oldest, strongest, richest territories are there. Serious trouble in this territory would mean the end of France as a colonial power. What is the present situation and outlook?

An idyllic picture has been drawn by some French writers of a North Africa that is only "an enlarged France," with the Mohammedan element, which forms over 85 per cent. of the population, imbued with French psychology and eagerly accepting as their own the civilization of their benevolent conquerors. Perhaps enlightened self-interest may eventually make this picture come true, for the benefits of the French occupation are undeniable, including as they do the opening up of those regions to European civilization, with all that that means for transportation, sanitation, educational facilities and the development of agricultural, mineral and commercial wealth. But the natives of French North Africa have their own point of view. "After all, Tunisia is our own country," said a highly educated and Europeanized Tunisian Moslem to me. "Isn't it only natural that we should want to rule ourselves?"

This feeling, which is widespread, is something which France must seriously consider if she is to keep her North African possessions. The familiar policy of the "iron hand in the velvet glove" underlies her handling of colonial affairs everywhere—in Tunisia, in Algeria and in the less developed and sparsely populated Morocco.

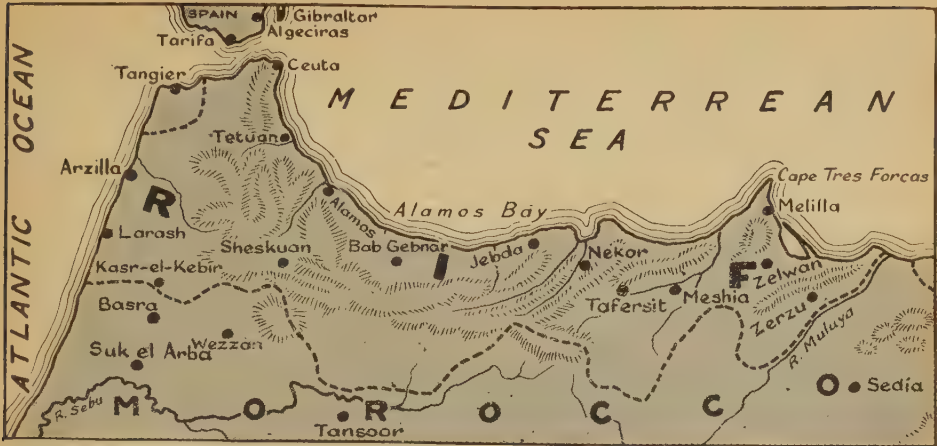
Tunisia and Algeria, however, offer two distinct problems. They are alike in one respect—namely, that conditions in each region look better on the surface today than they have for several years.

Recent disturbances and native manifestations in both countries have been suppressed and the Arab appeased with more political power, and both regions are at this moment prospering economically. But dark currents are surging beneath this smooth and peaceful surface and beneath the French Administration's policy of official silence. An undeniable and ominous fact is that French North Africa is honeycombed with Moslem secret societies, and that every little town and village is the seat of a branch of the larger organizations. What may be discussed and planned in these secret meetings is as completely unknown to the European Christians as what may be going on in the mind behind an impassive Arab face. It is known, however, that these societies are working to strengthen Mohammedan unity and class-consciousness and that they are at present very active in proselyting in the desert to the south, and it is thought that they are growing rapidly in size and power. I have recently received convincing evidence that a branch of one of these subversive movements has been established in the United States.

In Tunisia the situation is one that can hardly last indefinitely. Nominally a protectorate under a Moslem Bey, Tunisia is actually governed in all important matters by the French resident General, and the rubric: "Nous, Mohammed el Habib Pacha Bey, Posses-

---

Miss Knowlton is a graduate of Vassar College and the holder of a higher degree from Radcliffe College. She has for the past few years been engaged in volunteer relief work and in publicity work for the National Mental Hygiene Committee and the Near East Relief. She visited French North Africa in the Spring of 1924, and interviewed many eminent people in Algiers and Tunis, including French officials, professors in the University of Algiers, members of Catholic orders and many resident foreigners. She was given access to many French official documents.



The boundary between the Rif country, where the Spaniards are fighting the native tribesmen, and French Morocco is indicated by the broken line running from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

seur du Royaume de Tunisia" [We rule over the Kingdom of Tunisia] is only a rubber stamp. In Tunisia 1,891,000 Mohammedans, with their eyes on the East, and 84,000 Italians, active and rich traders, with their eyes on Mussolini and his reputed policy of "the Mediterranean an Italian lake," are governed by France with a settled population of only 54,000 Frenchmen. Various tactless acts have increased friction. Compulsory French in European schools has annoyed the Italian element. Another important and powerful part of the community, the Jews, are violently protesting against being tried by Moslem rather than European or Jewish courts. The French in Algeria write openly of the desirability of bringing Tunisia under the French flag. Some French residents in Tunisia hope for this change of status, and look on the proposed French North African Customs Union as an entering wedge. The Moslems themselves, realizing that their native Prince, the constant reminder of their vanished rule, is now only a figure-head under France, are in a continual state of irritation. This at least is true of the educated leaders, most of whom have absorbed their nationalism, along with other European ideas, in France or under French auspices in the Lycée Carnot at Tunis. The main thing that

has helped France to maintain her rule so far is that the great mass of the common people are politically apathetic and indifferent to whom they pay their taxes. That it is possible, however, to rouse them from this state by agitation, was sufficiently shown by the outbreak that took place two years ago.

Very little was ever known by the outside world of this rising and very little is said of it now in Tunisia. This is what occurred: The Young Tunisian movement, which commenced in 1907, became specially active in the Fall of 1922. The leaders had newspapers, which virulently attacked the Government. They carried on propaganda among the few embryonic trade unions of Tunisia and among the mass of the Moslems of Tunis. The agitation culminated in the march of a dusty white-robed procession of thousands of the Mohammedans of the capital to the palace of the Bey, the purpose being to lay before the monarch a petition urging him to drive out the foreign invader and resume his ancient power. By one of those lucky chances that happen to forehanded Governments, French warships were at that moment in the harbor, and in a very short space of time French troops with a few businesslike looking machine guns, marched grimly through the town. The crowds evaporated, the Young Tunisian leaders



were silenced, their newspapers were suppressed and any agitation that has taken place since has been perforce entirely hidden and underground. As a result of the uprising the French made certain reforms desired by the Young Tunisian agitators, which give the Mohammedan element some power in the Government.

That the Young Tunisian movement is not dead, however, is well known. The movement is at present secret and unorganized, and it is the view of some Europeans that the natives, even the leaders, have no gift for organization and that any future disturbance is bound to be as sporadic and temporary as in the past. Of the many elements making for unrest in Tunisia, however, not the least dangerous are the religious fanaticism and nationalistic tendencies of the Arabs.

#### POTENTIAL UNREST IN ALGERIA

In Algeria the situation is quite different. France is firmly established, having been not only the actual but the nominal ruler of the country for almost a hundred years. Algeria has also a European population preponderantly French and a native population much less homogeneous than that of Tunisia. In fact, its strongest and most energetic section, the Kabyle tribe, is separated from the rest of the Algerian Moslems not only by race but by language. All these facts tend to make the Algerian problem a much easier one to handle. The French even deny the existence of any Algerian Mohammedan problem at all. At the same time France takes no chances. She is bringing up Senegalese troops from her more southern possessions (no estimates of the size of these forces have been given out) ostensibly because Algeria makes a convenient training place, but also, it is openly acknowledged, to have soldiers of unquestionable loyalty to rely on in case of trouble among the Arabs.

As in Tunisia, the present situation in Algeria is outwardly peaceful, though the impression remains of a period of

truce. Algeria being a colony, most of her affairs are in the hands of the French Senate. At the end of the World War there was a distinct pro-Arab feeling in the French Government. Algeria had contributed many native troops, who had fought loyally and bravely in the war, and it was felt that France should no longer ignore the native desire for more political power, as expressed by the Arab leaders, many of them Young Algerians, a party never as active as the Young Tunisians, but still important.

This feeling in 1919 gave rise to the passing of several measures favorable to the Arabs. The natives were given permission to purchase arms; this privilege, however, was soon withdrawn owing to vigorous protests from the French element. More power was granted to the local djemaas, or village councils, under native chiefs, and the native voters were increased to 421,000, as against 140,000 French. The Arab leaders, who take naturally to the game of politics, have seized all the power they can from this, and the French colonists have charged that this power is used corruptly and unjustly, with unfair discrimination in favor of the Moslem. Numerically the French colonists are of little importance, forming as they do less than 8 per cent. of the population, but they possess most of the wealth, initiative and education of the country. Feeling between Arab politicians and colonists has run high, each contending that the Government is ignorant of the problem and unfairly favors the other. The present Governor General, M. Steeg, however, seems to hold the scales evenly between the two factions. His administration has been consistent with his saying: "One should neither be an Arabophile nor an Arabophobe, but an Arabojuste." Thanks to his attitude and to the lethargy of the great bulk of the Moslem population, the educated Arab leaders in the last year or so have met with little success in rousing anti-French feeling. The efforts of the International Communist Party, which is very strong and active

in Algiers and which makes common cause there with the nationalist Arabs, have been equally unsuccessful recently, although on May 1 of 1920 and 1921 respectively they led demonstrations among the Arab workers of Algiers. But here also the Arab secret societies, which are constantly spreading and growing, fanning the flame of fervent Mohammedanism among the ignorant and credulous masses, must be taken into account.

The simplest solution of the whole French-Mohammedan problem and one which many Frenchmen seem to take for granted, is that the lions will become lambs, that the Moslems, accepting of French civilization and culture, all except the inconvenient French love of liberty, will help to form a second and greater "Latin North Africa." Unfortunately, however, the political and nationalistic tendencies are just those aspects of French culture which the Arabs seem most readily to absorb.

Never, as long as they adhere strictly to their religion, can they become really European in most of their feelings and attitudes, for all their family and social life, including marriage, inheritance and the position of women, is regulated by the Koran. The broadening influence of Western customs, already visible in the new Turkey, is spreading only very slowly in North Africa. For example, unveiled women, now a commonplace in Turkey, are—excepting certain tribes with special customs—still practically unknown in Algeria and Tunisia. It is unlikely that any number of Moslems will in the immediate future give up their religion. In most villages, I was told by the natives, such apostasy now means ostracism and frequently actual physical persecution.

The immediate question is whether a judicious mixture of the strong hand and of concessions to Arab desire for self-government can continue to keep the peace in lands inhabited by some



Ewing Galloway

The guard of Mulai Yusef, Sultan of Morocco, marching to the City of Rabat, on the Atlantic Coast of French Morocco, after a great open-air prayer meeting





Ewing Galloway

A street in the business quarter of Algiers

7,000,000 backward, slow, fanatical Moslems, urged on by patriots or demagogues, and some 800,000 energetic, progressive Europeans. Any action anywhere in the Mohammedan world will have its influence on the situation. In this regard the action of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, on Oct. 3, in abdicating both as Caliph and King, warrants serious consideration, since it has precipitated developments the effect of which are bound to be of far-reaching significance. Though the French hardly acknowledge that there is any French-Mohammedan question, they spent last year 222,007,020 francs for the upkeep of troops occupying Algeria and Tunisia.

The present French situation in Morocco must also be considered. In this region, in spite of occasional sporadic outbreaks, France has been very successful in keeping the wild tribes in awe of her military power and native leaders friendly, while developing the mineral resources of the country. A new and immediate aspect of the North

African problem, however, has arisen from the continuous reverses of the Spanish forces in the Riff region and from the consequent possibility of an attack by the Riff tribesmen on the French zone. Marshal Liautey, it was reported on Sept. 27, was fully prepared for all emergencies. A mobile column numbering 2,000 men had been formed at Ouezzan to watch the northern frontier of the Western French sector and to repress any attempts at invasion, this new reinforcement bringing the French forces along the frontier of the Riff to a total of 8,000 guarding a frontier of 240 kilometers. The French War Office and other departments of the French Government are following events in Spanish Morocco with the closest attention, realizing that if the Moroccans succeed in sweeping the Spaniards from their country, the French zone, which will remain the only obstacle to the complete liberation of Morocco from the white invader, will be the next centre of attack.

There have been for the past two

years many charges in the Spanish press that France has backed the natives of the Spanish zone. To silence these reports the Quai d'Orsay on Aug. 11 issued the following statement:

For some time Spanish newspapers preoccupied with the situation in the Spanish zone of Morocco have accused the French of increasing their difficulties in Riff. Often these accusations have been too vague to merit a detailed reply. But recently the Spanish press has cited a series of precise accusations.

It was said that paper money issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Oran was being circulated in abnormal quantity in Riff, and it was deduced that the French authorities were subsidizing the tribes fighting Spain. This is simple calumny. Ever since the installation of the French at Oran, Riffians have been coming to work in large numbers in the western part of Algeria. Saving part of their pay, they return to the Riffian country with Oran paper money. But that does not involve any subsidy by the French authorities or any subvention to embarrass Spain. It might be said that the Riffians while working in the French zone escape the temptation to attack the Spanish.

It is also charged that the chiefs of the tribes fighting Spain had established official representation with the French at Oudjda. There exists at Oudjda no such representation.

In fact, it is to French interests that there should be calm in the Spanish zone. In pretending that the French are responsible for Spanish troubles there the Spanish papers have attributed to them an absurd policy.

It is sufficiently clear that the situation in French North Africa is one which demands of the French Administration high qualities of statesmanship and strategic diplomacy. The expected reaction on the natives of the recent protests of French labor to the Herriot Government against the rising tide of African labor in France, including blacks and Moroccans, and of the measures contemplated by the Government to check this immigration, may be overestimated, but any definite reversal of the now familiar French policy toward its African subjects "of color" will undoubtedly exercise an unfavorable influence in the end.



Ewing Galloway

The great mosque of Tunis





The Nile at Cairo

# Zaghlul Pasha,

## Egyptian Revolutionist and Premier

By ANTHONY CLYNE

A British Publicist.

**S**AADALLAH ZAGHLUL PASHA, the stormy petrel of latter-day Egyptian political life, inflexible enemy of British rule in Egypt and Egypt's first Nationalist Premier, has added a new chapter to his sensational career by his recent fruitless journey to London, via Paris, undertaken in the hope of winning over Ramsay MacDonald, the British Premier, to the Egyptian Nationalist point of view, especially with regard to control of the Sudan. For a number of weeks the Egyptian Premier waited impatiently in Paris for an invitation from Premier MacDonald to proceed to London to discuss Egypt's demands. After he had lost all hope of receiving such an invitation and had announced his intention to lay the Na-

tionalist demands before the Assembly of the League of Nations, then in session, the coveted invitation at last arrived, and Zaghlul crossed the Channel and began negotiations with Premier MacDonald on Sept. 25. The discussions lasted until Oct. 3, when it was learned that Zaghlul had made no progress in his attempt to maintain Egypt's alleged rights vis-à-vis Great Britain's rule in the Sudan and in other respects, and that the Nationalist Premier was preparing to return to Egypt.

On Zaghlul and Egypt the gaze of the civilized world is now centred anew, for British rule in the Sudan is menaced and Great Britain is gathering all her energies to repel the insistent demands of the Egyptian Nationalists, headed by

Zaghlul, for changes that would mean the complete overthrow of British authority and prestige in that quarter of the world. Ramsay MacDonald, Britain's official spokesman, refuses to compromise with Egypt's most fiery agitator, even though he be the legally elected Premier of King Fuad's Government, over matters which the British Government believes excluded from all discussion, and any attempts by Zaghlul to secure the support of the League of Nations for claims which will undoubtedly be vigorously attacked, not only by the British, but by the French and Italian delegates, will beyond all question prove futile. Meanwhile, the anti-British agitation in the Sudan, which began several months ago and which found explosive expression early in August in the mutiny of a battalion of Egyptian railway troops at Atbara, following the British Premier's flat declaration that Great Britain would not surrender control of the Sudan to Egypt, is considered ominous as a warning and sign of the dangerous forces that lie behind Zaghlul Pasha's insistent demands on behalf of Nationalist Egypt. Martial law has been proclaimed in the Sudan and may be extended to Lower Egypt, where the anti-British agitation continues, and the MacDonald Government shows every determination to uphold the British position in Egypt by every means at its command.

The British, it cannot be denied, have considerable justification for assuming that they have made all possible concessions to Egyptian national feeling and that it is unreasonable to expect them to go further. Ever since the creation of the Kingdom of Egypt in March, 1922, the Egyptians have been gradually taking over the control of customs, railways, even the police. But the ultra-patriots are still unsatisfied. There still remains in Cairo a British High Commissioner with some 12,000 troops under his command, and the Nationalists demand the removal of this alien "army of occupation." International Commissioners, furthermore, supervise the finances in connection with

the foreign debt, the interest on which is a first charge on the revenues of the country, and this irks the Nationalists, who clamor also for the right to possess, administer and guard the Suez Canal and the Sudan right up to the sources of the Nile.

If the demand for the annexation of the Sudan is insisted upon the position will be difficult for Zaghlul. Every party in Britain will cordially approve the maintenance of the status quo. The attitude of the British is that they cannot sanction the destruction of the civilizing work of a quarter of a century, violate their pledges and abandon the Sudanese to their fate. No one, since Herodotus made his famous remark that "Egypt is the Nile and the Nile Egypt," has denied the interest of Egypt in the Sudan. The waters of the river are the very life blood of the land. To the argument that Egypt should control the upper reaches of the Nile, however, the British retort that she has never done

except for the fifty years which ended in rebellion and the complete overthrow of Egyptian authority, due to the unendurable oppression of the Sudanese. Egypt's interests are fully protected, and in all irrigation schemes her needs are the first consideration. Unfortunately, an excuse was furnished for the contention that irrigation projects in the Sudan would interfere with Egypt's water supply by a report to that effect by certain engineers who were consulted. No doubt remains that the report was largely influenced by personal jealousy of the technical promoters, and overwhelming proof has been provided that every misgiving that might have been entertained by the Egyptians is without foundation. Despite this conclusive demonstration, the Nationalists have appealed to the baseless fears of the Egyptian cultivators that prosperity in the Sudan under British administration entails economic injury to an independent Egypt.

Zaghlul has been consistent in his aim, most determined and clever in working toward it, astute in conceding



an expedient compromise, unlike such Nationalist leaders as de Valera and Gandhi, when compromise seemed momentarily desirable, stubborn in resistance when resistance appeared the most effective policy. He delayed the efforts of Great Britain to satisfy legitimate Egyptian aspirations by insuring the rejection, whatever politician was in power at Cairo, of offers of a measure of self-government unaccompanied by a pledge to withdraw British troops and relinquish the Sudan. After Egypt was endowed with parliamentary government, he wrecked every Ministry until at the end of last year he secured the Premiership.

Saadallah Zaghlul's career as an agitator began only in 1912, when he was 52. It was prefaced by practice as a lawyer and by a period as Minister of Education under Sir Eldon Gorst. He discharged his functions in this post so ably that he earned the praise of Lord Cromer in his monumental work, "Modern Egypt," where it is stated that "under his [Zaghlul's] enlightened administration education in Egypt made rapid strides in advance." Born in 1860, the son of a fellah or peasant, Zaghlul was educated at the village school and later attended as a student of religion the great Moslem university of El Azhar, in Cairo. After completing the prescribed course, he was appointed at the age of 20 editor of the "Official Journal." Soon afterward he was nominated a Moawin under the Ministry of the Interior and became Chief of the *Conseil* for the Province of Giza. In 1882 the revolt of Ahmed Arabi broke out against the Dual Control of Britain and France; Zaghlul was involved in this uprising and was dismissed from his office, arrested and kept in custody when the British forces occupied Egypt. Under British control the native tribunals were restored, and in 1884, after his release, Zaghlul began to practice as an advocate before them.

He has been called, in allusion to the famous Ulster leader, the Carson of Egyptian barristers, dour and determined, dauntless and irrepressible.

There is a story that once, when twelve men were being tried on a capital charge, he spoke for seven hours in defense of one of the accused. When warned that the Court's time was valuable, Zaghlul retorted that the prisoner's life was infinitely more valuable; thereupon he threw down his brief, abruptly turned and left the court. The next day he returned and recapitulated the whole of his defense, and in the end his clients were acquitted. Proficient in the French language and legal science, he obtained his diploma in law, and in 1893 was appointed Counselor of the native Court of Appeals.

#### HIS HOSTILITY TO BRITAIN

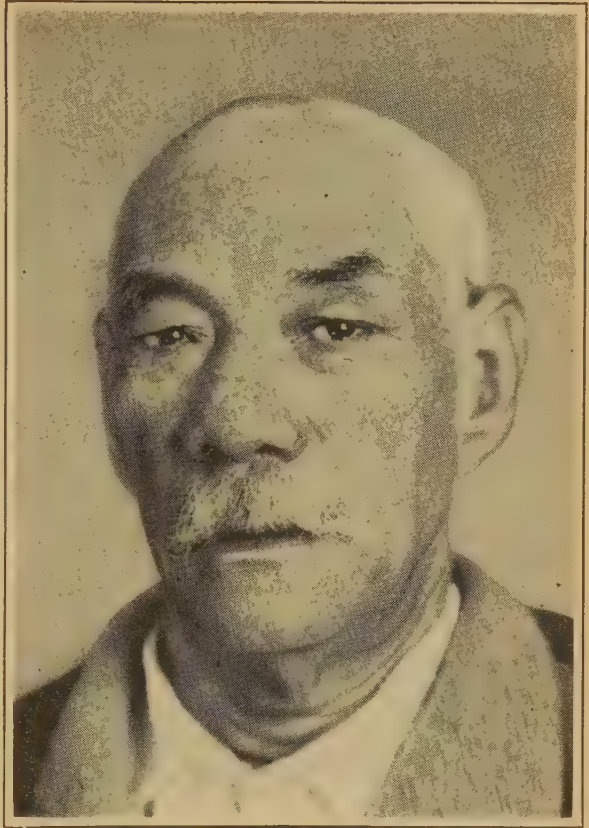
A Nationalist, but not an extremist, in 1906 he became Minister of Education. During his tenure of office, in furtherance of Sir Eldon Gorst's policy of entrusting the Egyptians with wider administrative responsibility, the direction of elementary education was given to the provincial councils. Gorst's last report, before he died in 1911, recognized that his Egyptian policy had failed and that the machinery of partial self-government which had been set up had been transformed into an instrument of agitation against Great Britain. Lord Kitchener succeeded Gorst, and Zaghlul Pasha retired from office; he was not of a temperament to work in harmony with Kitchener, even if his nationalism, which had been gradually growing more extreme, had not made such cooperation quite impossible. His anti-British agitation dates from this time.

Cromer, whose praise of Zaghlul's administrative capacity has been quoted, had had the insight and foresight to describe him, in his valedictory address, as the man of the future in Egypt. Gorst's policy had provided wider scope for his abilities, and his success had naturally expanded his conception of the part Egyptians were capable of playing and ought to play in governing their country, oblivious of the ignorance and apathy of the fellahin and the limitations and faults of the Egyptian poli-

ticians as a class. Eventually he became the advocate of absolute independence, deeply imbued with hostility to Britain, and fully conscious of the powerful weapon he might wield in the struggle could he enlist the support of the educated or semi-educated youth of the country.

Elected Vice President of the Legislative Assembly by an overwhelming majority, he was hailed by the Opposition and its press as the champion of Egyptian liberty. He took a prominent part in the debates and was the leader of virulent attacks on the Egyptian Ministry and on the British. At the same time he engaged in unceasing propaganda and conspiracy. Though Kitchener's influence not only kept the Nationalist movement in check but diminished its strength, Zaghlul remained irreconcilable. Kitchener, fully aware of Zaghlul's subterranean activities, on one occasion invited him to an interview, entertained him with friendly converse, and then strove to exert the compelling force of his personality to give this formidable agitator pause and curb his intrigue. This effort proved vain; not even a Kitchener could divert Zaghlul Pasha from his course.

During the war, while the sittings of the Assembly were suspended, Zaghlul dropped out of sight. The open contest being postponed, he concentrated his activities on a secret campaign among ambitious politicians, disorderly students and ignorant peasants. In 1917 the extreme Nationalists attempted in vain to obtain his inclusion in the Ministry. Toward the end of 1918 a Nationalist committee was formed under Zaghlul's chairmanship, and two days



Wide World Photos

ZAGHLUL PASHA  
The Prime Minister of Egypt

after the Armistice he presented himself at the British residency as the champion of complete autonomy, basing his claim on Britain's acceptance of ex-President Wilson's policy of self-determination. He demanded from the High Commissioner permission to go to London with other representative Nationalists to put forward the program of absolute independence and press it upon the British Government, a proposal which was, of course, rejected. After this veto Zaghlul and his colleagues became more violent in their anti-British agitation. To the Sultan of Egypt they sent, disguised as a petition expressed with all the conventional phrases of respect, what was really an ultimatum threatening rebellion, and



for this Zaghlul and three of his principal adherents were arrested and deported to Malta. Released from internment later, the removal of the embargo on travel imposed on Egyptians as a necessary war measure enabled Zaghlul and his chief followers to proceed to Paris and attempt to obtain a hearing at the Peace Conference. Defeated in this, Zaghlul came to London with the Milner Mission, the negotiations resulting in the Milner-Zaghlul agreement.

After a wildly enthusiastic welcome in Egypt in April, 1921, Zaghlul immediately assumed a hostile attitude toward the new Government, refusing a place in the official delegation unless appointed President, and losing the support of all but the most extreme Nationalists and the turbulent elements in the country, most of his former colleagues deserting him. For the riots which followed, in which many Europeans and Egyptians were killed and wounded, he was morally responsible, despite his manifesto deprecating attacks on foreigners, through the continual incitement of his speeches. In December he was again deported, first to Ceylon, then to the Seychelles, and finally, owing to complaints that his health was being affected, to Gibraltar. The same reason was given for his ultimate liberation in March, 1923. After obtaining his freedom, he resumed his campaign and went from success to success until he finally won the Premiership.

Saadallah Zaghlul is still full of energy for all his sixty-four years, which have left his tall and vigorous frame unbowed. He took advantage of his exile to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, insisting that one of his companions, a young graduate of Oxford, should spend six hours a day teaching him. He apparently recovered from the injury received in the attempt on his life last July, though recent dispatches from Paris report that the effects continue. With his bold and rugged features, narrowed eyes and bushy gray mustache, his appearance is one of grim determination. His te-

nacity of purpose has brought Egypt nearly to the goal of absolute independence at which he aimed. But with what consequences?

#### FINANCIAL POSITION TOTTERING

Let us consider first that sure index, the position of Egypt in the world of finance. The country is dependent on foreign capital, but the new spirit in Egyptian finance has induced profound misgivings calculated to deter further investments. The question of the Tribute Loans is symptomatic. In 1855, 1891 and 1894 Turkey raised loans guaranteed by the annual tribute received from Egypt. It was arranged that instead of the tribute being paid to the Ottoman Government it should be distributed directly to the holders of the loans. The entry into the war of Turkey and the termination of the suzerainty made no difference, so far as the payments were concerned; nor did the Treaty of Lausanne make any difference, except to release Turkey from nominal liability. But the Egyptian Nationalists now argue that as the suzerainty does not exist Egypt is no longer liable to pay the tribute.

Zaghlul's Government has not ventured so far as an immediate and categorical refusal to pay the interest, which refusal would probably have involved others powers as well as Britain in efforts to protect the rights of their subjects. The last instalment due has been paid, but the question of further payments, according to Zaghlul Pasha, must be discussed at a conference. To treat the interest on these loans, however, as equivalent now to tribute to Turkey, is mere juggling with the superficial facts of their history. The Treaty of Lausanne is plain enough: "The annual payments made by Egypt for the service of these loans now forming part of the service of the Egyptian public debt, Egypt is freed from all other obligations relating to the Ottoman public debt."

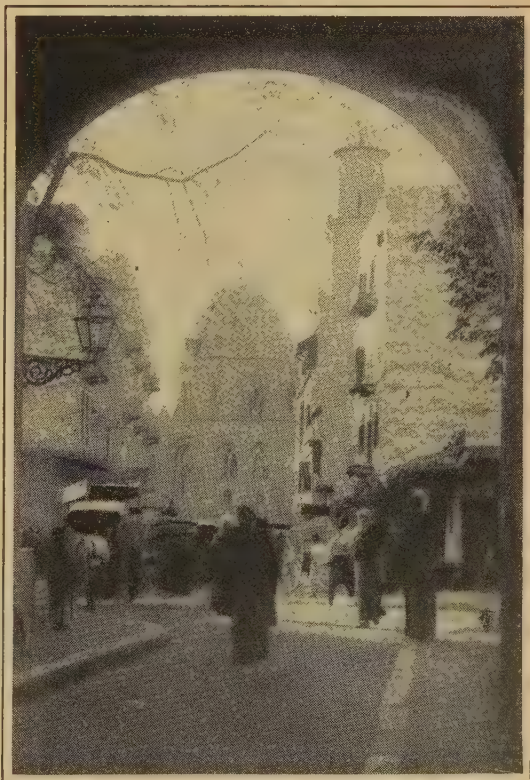
In connection with Egypt's claim to the Sudan, it is true that Egypt con-

tributed toward the cost of the reconquest and subsequent administration. But the reconquest was necessary because of Egypt's fifty years of misrule, and until it had been accomplished Egypt had to maintain a large force to defend her frontier from the Dervishes, while irrigation works on the Nile essential for her agricultural development were impossible. The cost to Egypt was a small fraction of the value of the gold extracted from the Sudan by pitiless oppression, to say nothing of the droves of slaves taken for sale to Egyptian Pashas; and it was a small fraction of the benefit derived from security and irrigation schemes. As has been stated before, Egypt's interests are fully protected, and in all irrigation projects her water needs are the first consideration.

The capital now invested in the Sudan is almost wholly British. The amount of private capital which the Egyptians have subscribed and the extent of their commercial enterprise are both practically negligible. Not only was it the British who smashed the Mahdi at Omdurman, not only has it been British administration which has brought about a degree of security and prosperity such as the Sudan has never known since its ancient civilization perished, but it is British capital which is providing means for the Sudan's economic development. Irrigation, transport facilities, education of the natives—these are the three problems of the Sudan, which has a great future before it as a cotton-growing country; and it is British administration and British money which have done what has been done and which must do what will be done in the future.

If Egypt acquires control of the Sudan, it is certain that there will be no more British capital invested; that the funds already invested will be with-

drawn is almost as certain. The Egyptians, even could they provide the administrative ability and military security, which they cannot, could not supply more than a trifling fraction of the capital. The Sudanese are of another blood and language. The Egyptians based their claim to independence on the principle of self-determination. To surrender the Sudan to Egypt would be the negation of self-government; it would be handing it over to an alien race, hated and feared, whose former oppression led to rebellion. That the Egyptians are capable of controlling and educating the heterogeneous peoples of the Sudan in a manner to secure their welfare and the economic prosperity of their country is inconceivable. No Egyptian official will serve in the Sudan if he can avoid it. To the Egyptians it is a place of miserable exile.



Entrance to the University, Cairo



Yet they are inordinately jealous of the Sudanese who, by British training, have been fitted to play a part in the work of administration. What would happen under Egyptian rule is obvious—cessation of all educational activities, exclusion of the Sudanese from all share in control, the decay and eventual ruin of all that has so far been accomplished. Egypt could not even maintain order throughout the Sudan, and she would be entirely helpless on the higher reaches of the Nile, at the mercy of any power in Central Africa which cared to interfere.

Apart from all these considerations, British capital would be withdrawn or would be withheld for the same reason that it is now, in various cases, being withheld in Egypt. For the political future of Egypt is so uncertain and the Egyptians are proving so deficient in administration that potential investors are distrustful. Cairo itself is beginning to sink back into a state of medieval squalor and confusion. The public services are functioning with increasing waste and inefficiency. Only the momentum gained in the period of British administration and the existence, here and there, of a few Egyptian officials who retain the ideals of loyal service, thoroughness, honesty and ability learned from the British, enable the machinery of government to run with some semblance of smoothness and adequacy. The State railways, once a model of punctual and comfortable facilities for travel, are now a scandal, with uncleanness, overcrowding, reduced speed owing to deterioration of the permanent way, breakdowns and

accidents. The irrigation services in Egypt itself are manifesting signs of the changed conditions. Villages are experiencing difficulty in obtaining water, a situation that never occurred under British control, and are learning that bribery is the only way to secure their rights. But even bribery will fail, if the machinery is allowed to go to ruin.

Meanwhile Zaghlul Pasha and his Nationalist following continue their relentless campaign against their British benefactors, to whom Egypt, as an independent kingdom, owes her very existence. Zaghlul may yet decide to bring to the attention of the League of Nations the demands of the Egyptian Nationalists regarding the Suez Canal, the presence of the British troops in Egypt and the sovereignty of the Sudan. But Great Britain has already intimated that she is firmly opposed to any intervention of the League in this matter and she will be sustained in this attitude by all those powers that have large economic interests in Egypt and the Sudan. There is too much at stake in Egypt, not only for the British Empire, but for all civilized and even uncivilized nations, to make it possible to conceive that the British will consent to transfer the Suez Canal, the entire Valley of the Nile and the control of the headwaters of that great river, upon which all Egypt and the Sudan depend for their existence, to the custody of a group of actively hostile Egyptian Nationalists, who threaten to destroy a civilizing force which has lifted Egypt from chaos and helped her to build the foundations of a modern and progressive State.



# The Newest Constitution in an Ancient Land

By RICHARD COKE

Bagdad correspondent of The Manchester (England) Guardian

IN the most ancient of lands one of the latest experiments in constitutional government is being made. That is why so much interest attaches to the passing by the Iraq (Mesopotamia) Mejlis al-Tasisi, or Constituent Assembly, of the Organic Law upon which will be based the Constitution of the new kingdom. The Organic Law was drafted some months ago by a committee of four, two Iraqi and two English, and it represents a fairly accurate compromise between Eastern and Western modern political ideas. It was submitted to the Constituent Assembly early in July, and accepted with minor amendments and with surprisingly little discussion.

The Organic Law actually represents an attempt to provide a ready-made Constitution for a struggling and youthful Eastern kingdom, possessing high ambitions but many political drawbacks. The principle of the three estates of the realm, now general throughout the world, has been followed, but, as a necessary concession to Middle Eastern practice, a good deal more power has been concentrated in the hands of the King than is usual in the case of a constitutional sovereign. Democratically inclined people who cavil at this ought in fairness to remember that the Middle East is not the Middle West, and that neither by inclination, training nor experience are the people of Iraq fitted as yet for any form of government more responsible than a benevolent autocracy. This, in practice, the Organic Law appears to wish to secure, though a loophole is left for the development of democratic political life by the creation of an elective lower house. Ample safeguards, however, remain with the King and his Government to prevent the operation of rash or revolutionary legisla-

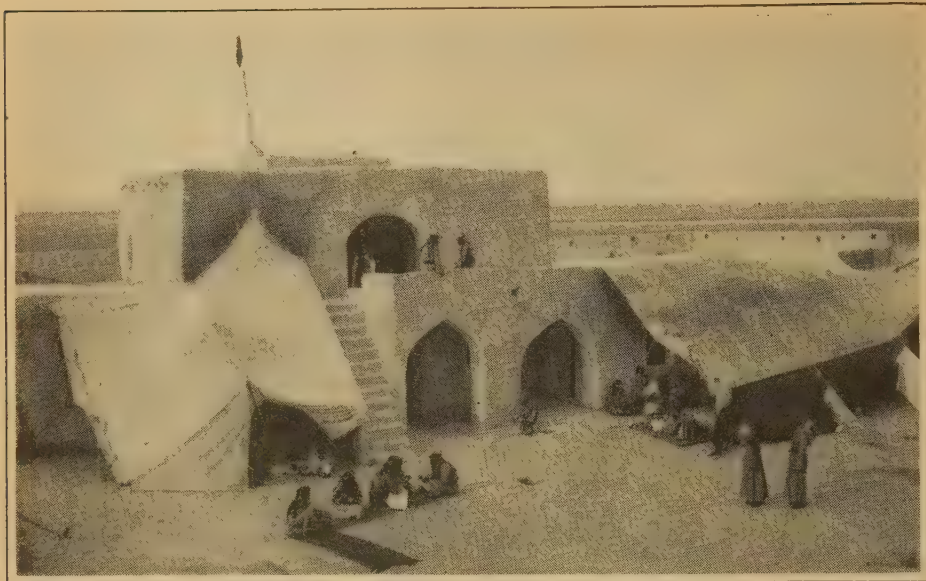
tion which might, in so young a State, have disastrous results.

The printed edition of the Organic Law divides it into ten parts, dealing respectively with the Rights of the People, the Crown, the Legislature, the Ministry, the Judicature, Finance, the administration of the Provinces, the validation of existing laws and judgments, provisions for change in the Organic Law itself and a last clause of general provisions. It is laid down at the beginning that "Iraq is a sovereign State, free and independent. Its sovereign rights are indivisible and inalienable. Its Government is that of a hereditary monarchy, and its form representative."

The three estates of the realm are represented by the King, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The kingship is "a trust confided by the people of Iraq in Feisal ibn Hosein and his heirs after him." The heir apparent is to be the eldest male descendant from the King in the direct line. The monarch attains his majority on the completion of his eighteenth year, and, on accession, must swear in the presence of both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies to safeguard the Constitution and the independence of Iraq. In the case of a minor ascending the throne, the rights of the crown will be exercised by a regent, appointed if possible, by the late King with the approval of the Senate and Chamber. In the event of there being no regent, the Cabinet has the power to perform the duties of the crown until such time as one shall have been appointed.

The powers of the King as laid down are very extensive, both on the administrative and legislative side. As the head of the State, he is to sanction and promulgate all laws and supervise their





Outpost of the Iraq Desert Police at El Giam

execution. In connection with the latter duty, he may himself issue by-laws "within the limits prescribed by such laws." He is to issue orders for the holding of general elections, and retains the power of convoking, opening, adjourning, proroguing and dissolving the Chamber of Deputies. If urgent necessity should arise at a time when the Chamber is not in session for the taking of measures for the maintenance of public order and security, for repelling a public danger, for undergoing expenditure not sanctioned by the budget, or for the purpose of securing the fulfillment of treaty obligations, the King may, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, take the necessary action, and his orders will automatically have the force of law. Such orders, however, must be countersigned by all Ministers, must not contravene the provisions of the Organic Law, and must be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies in the ensuing session, with the exception of those "passed for the purpose of securing the fulfillment of obligations arising out of treaties approved by Parliament or by the Constituent Assem-

bly." The reason of this particular exception remains somewhat obscure.

#### THE KING'S POWERS

On the executive side the King chooses and appoints the Prime Minister, and appoints the other Ministers, subject to the Premier's approval. In addition, he has the sole right of appointing members of the Senate, "from among those who, by their acts, have gained the confidence and trust of people, and those who have an honorable post in the service of the Government and the country," two classes of persons who would seem to allow a wide discretion of choice to his Majesty. Senators are appointed for eight years, half the Senate retiring every four. The King has thus a strong hand over both the Cabinet and the Senate. In addition, he can conclude treaties, and may, with the consent of the Cabinet, declare war and conclude peace, apparently without reference to the Assemblies. He may not, however, ratify treaties without their consent. He holds the appointment of all civil and diplomatic officials, civil and Shará or religious Judges, and military ranks. No civil

death sentence may be carried out without his confirmation, and he retains the power to reduce or remit sentences, and, with the consent of the two houses, to declare a general amnesty. The King's power of remitting death sentences is not infrequently used at the present time in Iraq, in cases where Arab custom disagrees with legal principles; as, for instance, when a tribesman finds his sister in one of the cities leading a loose life and kills her, which his own tribal law would entitle him to do on the score of her immorality, but which the civil power would be bound to treat as a case of murder. In such cases the King's prerogative acts as a kind of safety valve, extremely useful in a country containing elements which differ from one another violently in their level of civilization.

A slight check on the King's legislative authority is caused by the fact that the Royal Iradah or announcement, by which the monarch makes his wish or decision publicly known, must be countersigned by the Prime Minister, as well as the Minister with whose particular department the Iradah in question may deal. But the King's power over his Ministers and Senators remains very considerable, and practically places him in the position of a constitutional autocrat.

The two houses naturally differ largely in design. The Senate must be composed of not more than twenty members, chosen in the manner described above; Senators must be forty years of age or over. The Chamber of Deputies is elective, on the basis of one member to every 20,000 male Iraqi subjects. It is laid down that the manner of the election of members shall observe the principle of the secret ballot, and have regard to the proper representation of non-Moslem minorities. This latter provision led to a certain amount of criticism in Bagdad, led, strangely enough, by the local Christians, who stoutly maintained that they did not want any special "rights" guaranteed to them, but preferred to trust in the public spirit of their Moslem fellow-countrymen. One Christian newspaper, indeed, even went so far as to suggest that the clause in question was the work of European interests, seeking, as in Turkey, to drive a wedge in their own interests in between local Christians and Moslems; and it warned the local Christians not to forget the fate of the Armenians and Assyrians, who put their trust in the Christian powers of Europe and were practically exterminated in consequence. Americans who know the Middle East, and who realize how extraordinarily cynical was



Scouts of the Camel Corps of Iraq visiting tribesmen dwelling in tents



the treatment of the smaller Eastern Christian communities by the victorious Allies, will hardly be surprised at Iraqi Christians preferring to put their trust in their own countrymen. At any rate, they could hardly fare worse!

The Organic Law lays down in detail the times during which the Senate and Assembly will function. Both are to assemble in the capital at the beginning of November in each year. The life of the Chamber normally is four annual sessions of four months each, but the King may extend an individual session to six months if the dispatch of business requires it. The Senate automatically assembles and ceases to sit at the same time as the Chamber. The King may adjourn the latter, but not more than three times during any one session, and for stated periods which shall not together exceed a total of three months. On the dissolution of the Chamber a general election is to be held, and the new Chamber is to assemble in extraordinary session not more than four months after the date of the previous dissolution. This extraordinary session must be prorogued on or before Oct. 31 to allow of the commencement of the ordinary annual session at the proper time.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE ASSEMBLY

Every male Iraqi over 30 years of age is qualified to stand for election for the Assembly, provided that he is under no legal disadvantage and has no material interest in a current contract with a Government department. He may represent only one constituency at a time; should he be elected for more than one, he may choose within eight days which one he will represent. Officials of the Government who may be elected must choose between refusing election or giving up their Government appointment for the period of their membership of the House. A member is allowed to resign by presenting his membership resignation in writing to the President of the Assembly, but his resignation must first be accepted by the House. A member absenting

himself without due reason for a continuous period of a month shall be deemed to have resigned. In all cases the order for a new election is issuable by the President of the Assembly.

The presence of half the members plus one is required before either house can proceed to business. Decisions are to be given by a majority of votes, the President not voting except in the case of an equal division, in which case his casting vote will be decisive. A majority is not obtainable unless half the members present record their votes. Every member must record his vote in person. The remuneration of members is laid down as 5,000 rupees for the session in the case of Senators, and 4,000 rupees in the case of Deputies. Should the session be extended beyond the normal period of four months, both Senators and Deputies are allowed extra allowances on a rather more generous scale; this provision was not made in the original law, but was an amendment of the Constituent Assembly.

Legislative bills are to be passed article by article, and then again as a whole. Every bill must be submitted to one Assembly, and, if accepted, again to the other; after which, if again accepted, it goes before the King for approval in the usual manner. Bills submitted by the Government of the day must obtain the approval of both houses and then be submitted to the King, who will either approve them or return them, together with a statement of reasons, within three months; if, however, both houses are agreed that the bill is urgent, they can demand that the King reduce this period to fifteen days. A bill rejected by both houses cannot be reintroduced into either during the same session. If a bill should be twice refused by one house and insisted upon by the other, a joint Assembly must be convened, under the Presidency of the President of the Senate, to decide the disputed provisions of the bill only. Should the bill, with or without amendments, be affirmed by a two-thirds majority of this joint Assembly, it shall be deemed to have been

duly accepted by both houses. If not so affirmed, the bill must not be re-introduced into either house during the same session.

All sittings of both houses are to be in public, unless a demand is made by one Minister or four Senators or ten Deputies that the matter in hand be discussed privately. Members are guaranteed freedom of speech and the right to put questions to Ministers, together with the right to discuss their replies. Such discussion, however, must not take place for eight days after the Minister's statement, unless that Minister so wishes it. Ministers or those deputed by them have the right of precedence in addressing the House. A Minister who is a member of one house has the right of voting in that house only, but the right of addressing both houses. No Minister may hold office for a longer period than one year without in the meanwhile becoming a member of one of the two houses.

All Ministers must be 30 years of age or over. The Cabinet must consist of not less than six nor more than nine, and it is responsible, both jointly and severally, to the Chamber of Deputies.

The Prime Minister is responsible for conveying the decisions of the Cabinet to the King and for ascertaining his Majesty's wishes on the matter. The resignation of either the Cabinet or an individual Minister may be brought about by a two-thirds majority vote of want of confidence, but the Prime Minister or the individual Minister concerned may demand the adjournment of the debate once, for a period not exceeding eight days.

#### RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

The Rights of the People as laid down include freedom from aggression, interference or illegal arrest; the right of recourse to the courts, and to prefer complaints or petitions to the King or Assembly; and the right to express and publish their political opinions. Forced entry into private houses is forbidden except through due legal process, and the rights of ownership guarded. No person may be forced to submit to a court of law other than that having jurisdiction in his own particular case. Illegal taxation is forbidden. It is laid down that the official language shall be Arabic and the State re-



Member of the desert police force of Iraq at his post on the Euphrates



ligion Islam, but the various minorities shall retain their right to establish and maintain schools in their own languages, and to practice their own forms of religious beliefs, "unless contrary to public safety, order and morals."

The administration of the provinces and of the large municipalities shall be the subject of separate legislation. In the administrative districts there shall be councils performing functions to be allotted to them by law, and in the towns municipal councils. In addition, each religious community shall possess the right to form communal councils in the principal administrative divisions, to administer the \*waqaf properties and funds and other charitable bequests, and to protect the interests of orphans. These councils shall be under the supervision of the Government.

Bagdad is made the legal capital of the country; should occasion arise, the capital may be removed to another place by the passing of a special law. The judicial system, centred in the capital, divides the courts into three classes, civil, religious and special. The latter includes a High Court for the trial of Ministers and others for political offenses, or for the purpose of interpreting disputed clauses of the Organic Law; and emergency courts for the trial of military offenders, or for the settlement of tribal disputes, land disputes or disagreements between the Government and its servants.

Civil and criminal cases are dealt with by the civil courts; all questions of personal status, wills, marriage and divorce, &c., come in Moslem countries under the jurisdiction of the various religious courts. In Iraq there are separate Moslem courts for Sunnis and Shiah, and the heads of the various Jewish, Christian and other communities have the authorities of Judges for these matters in their own particular community. It is laid down that all courts shall be free from interference.

and all trials shall be in public except for reasons prescribed by law. All proceedings, except those heard in camera, are permitted to be published.

The financial provisions of the Organic Law include the prohibition of taxation except by laws approved by both houses and the King; and the stipulation that the budget must be introduced into the Chamber of Deputies before the other house. The budget must be discussed vote by vote. No bill imposing a charge on public funds may be proposed in either house except by a Minister, but should any financial emergency arise at a time when the house is not in session, the King may, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, take the necessary measures to insure the passing of the emergency. No State property may be sold, leased or granted except in accordance with law, and no monopoly or concession may be granted for a longer period than three years without the passing of a special law. A special clause lays down that "without the previous consent of the King, the Chamber of Deputies shall not pass any resolution or propose any amendment to a law under discussion if such resolution or amendment propose the reduction or cancellation of any expenditure arising out of treaties approved by Parliament or by the Constituent Assembly."

An electoral law has still to be drafted and considered by the Constituent Assembly now sitting in Bagdad; on the completion of which that body will be dissolved and preparations made for the holding of general elections. Thus, in all probability, the new system of government will commence to function with the opening of the Chamber of Deputies, then the Organic Law, which we have been considering, will come under the test of actual political reality. But its success or failure must depend, in the long run, on the capacity of the Iraqi, tribesman or townsman, to turn his back upon the past and endeavor to accommodate himself to the framework of modern political institutions.

\*The "Waqaf" in a Moslem country is a Government department of Pious Bequests, of which the principal is assumed to be the possession of God.

# The Millions of Americans Who Fail to Vote

By SIMON MICHELET

American Lawyer; Founder of the National Get-Out-the-Vote Club.

THE Census of 1920 gave 60,886,520 as the total population of the United States, including both men and women, of 21 years of age and over. Approximately 8,467,620 of these were aliens, colored illiterates, Indians, Orientals, convicts and insane, not entitled to qualify as voters under the election laws of the respective forty-eight States. This left 52,418,900 native and naturalized men and women of voting age entitled to the franchise. The actual vote cast for all candidates for President was 26,713,832, or only a fraction over 50 per cent. of those eligible to establish legal residence and vote. Since Presidential elections naturally bring out a heavier popular vote than the so-called "off-year" elections of Congressmen and State officers, the question arises: Has government for and by the people fallen to a 50 per cent. efficiency rating?

It should first be pointed out, however, that 1920 was not a typical year on which to base the efficiency of voting America, for that year marked the initial appearance of women as a national factor in politics. Women, statistics show, are probably responsible for the larger part of the stay-at-home vote of 1920; to confirm this we have only to compare with the figures of 1920 those of 1916, when, for the most part, only men voted for President. Measuring the Census of 1916 against that of 1920 to arrive at the average rate of annual increase, there appears to have been in the former year about 29,699,000 males of voting age; deduction of the ineligible leaves approximately 25,456,000 qualified voters. The total 1916 Presidential vote was 18,528,743; that is to say, there was a stay-at-home vote of 6,900,000 in 1916, as compared with 25,705,000 in 1920. It is not likely that fewer men

voted in 1920 than in 1916, as the average four-year gain in the male vote during the preceding twenty years came close to a million. Even, however, if the male stay-at-homes had increased from 6,900,000 in 1916 to 10,000,000 in 1920, which appears to be an extravagant estimate, that still would leave in the 1920 election more than 15,000,000 stay-at-homes to be charged to the apathy of America's newly-enfranchised womanhood.

On the other hand, we should not expect too much of the women of America in their first Presidential election. The extenuating circumstances were many. There was a substantial element which had actively opposed suffrage for women; thousands had not yet brought themselves to believe that woman has a place in elections. There were, moreover, 2,740,000 colored women, a very small percentage of whom, it is safe to say, made any attempt to register and vote; then, of young women from 21 to 25 years of age, there were about 4,500,000, for whom the social attractions of life, parties and the varied amusements of youth doubtless made a more powerful appeal than the prosaic business of registering and voting—indeed, a heavy percentage of this class of young America scarcely stays in one place long enough to qualify for registration by acquiring a legal residence. It will take time for the earnest thinking women of America to mobilize their sex and secure a full share of representation through the ballot.

Studying the trend of popular interest in politics during the past forty years, however, we find this indifference toward voting to be but a modern development; in 1880, statistics show, more than 80 per cent. of the qualified voters of the country exercised their political



privileges. During the period, 1880-1920, there were eleven Presidential elections. Only three—those of 1880, 1900 and 1920—fell upon a Census year; the rate of population increase is so comparatively uniform, however, that it is the custom for the Census Bureau to make annual estimates of population based upon the average rate of annual increase. By employing the same method we obtain for each of the remaining eight Presidential election years close estimates as to number of males of voting age and the number of aliens and others not qualified for the ballot. These estimates will give us the net data for determining the number of qualified voters for comparison with the actual vote cast.

It is interesting to note that, during the period 1880-96, the voting efficiency of the country averaged higher than 80 per cent.; that is to say, over 80 out of 100 voters recorded their votes at the ballot box. One explanation of this heavy poll is that for many years following the Civil War sectional and party feeling was intense and helped to bring out a more nearly complete vote; furthermore, election laws had not in those days been strictly applied to registration, voting and the conduct of campaigns, and political committees and candidates were little restrained in their methods of effecting a heavy vote.

In the Garfield-Hancock campaign of 1880 there were only 1,800,000 stay-at-homes in the whole country, and a majority of those were colored voters in the South. In 1880 the voting efficiency of the American people registered 84 per cent. of those qualified for a ballot. In the Cleveland-Blaine contest of 1884 there was an increase of 600,000 in the apparent number of stay-at-homes, but still 81 per cent. of all qualified voters went to the polls. The Blaine-Conkling schism in the Republican National Convention was charged with responsibility for the increase in the number of stay-at-homes. In 1888, when Republican factions united behind Benjamin Harrison, the percentage of votes to the number of qualified voters rose to 82.3.

Of an estimated 13,822,000 native and naturalized voters, 11,381,400 went to the polls, and the total number of stay-at-homes, still composed largely of Southern negroes, reached only 2,400,000. In 1892 the followers of Blaine made their last fight, and President Harrison's renomination led to a marked increase in the stay-at-home army of discontent. Grover Cleveland was the beneficiary and won over Harrison at the polls. The record shows that the stay-at-homes increased in number to 3,200,000, while the voting efficiency of the qualified electorate dropped to 79 per cent.

The Presidential campaign of 1896, the first in which appeared the "peerless leader," William Jennings Bryan, was perhaps the most hard-fought of any campaign since the Civil War. Ten days before election, it was believed in many States that Bryan would win the battle. It is the close and hard-fought campaign that brings stay-at-homes out of their seclusion. The number of qualified electors in 1896 exhibited an increase of 1,400,000 over 1892; but the number of votes cast in November made an even greater gain of 1,770,000. The number of stay-at-homes was reduced by nearly a half million, while the percentage of actual votes to number of voters rose to 82.8, the high mark after 1880.

#### VOTING EFFICIENCY DECLINES

From 1896 to the present there has been a steady decline in the country's voting efficiency and a more or less rapid increase in the size of the stay-at-home army. Though the number of qualified voters by 1900 had increased 1,500,000 over 1896, the vote actually gained only 150,000, and the percentage of votes cast dropped to 77.

The Roosevelt-Parker campaign of 1904 was so one-sided that over 6,000,000 qualified voters stayed at home, and only 67.6 per cent. went to the polls. The last Bryan campaign, that of 1908, showed a similar stay-at-home vote, and a similar voting percentage. Then came the great three-cornered fight of 1912, in which the Republican Party went into

the national campaign with two candidates for President. The outcome became obvious long before election, with the result that when the votes were cast in November it was found that of 23,897,000 eligible male voters, only 15,031,169 had gone to the polls. That was the record stay-at-home year for male voters—a stay-at-home army of 8,800,000, and only 62.8 per cent. of the qualified vote cast.

The Wilson-Hughes campaign of 1916 was a well-fought party contest that increased the popular vote by nearly 3,500,000. President Wilson was then at the height of his national popularity and power and had the support of both houses of Congress. Justice Hughes had the support of both the Roosevelt and Taft factions of the preceding contest and had a united Republican support, with the possible exception of a small contingent in the Far West. There were apparently about 25,456,000 qualified voters in 1916, and 18,528,743 went to the polls. The result was an increase in the percentage of votes cast to 70.5, as compared with the 62.8 of 1912.

A summary of the forty-year period, based upon eligibles of voting age, indicates a fluctuating but in the main steadily increasing stay-at-home vote, as follows: In 1880, only 1,800,000 and largely colored; 1884, 2,400,000; 1888, 2,400,000; 1892, 3,200,000; 1896, 2,800,000; 1900, 5,100,000; 1904, 6,600,000; 1908, 7,200,000; 1912, 8,800,000; 1916, 6,900,000, and 1920, including men and women voters for the first time, 25,705,000.

The decline in voting efficiency, that is to say, in the ratio of actual votes cast to the number of voters eligible to qualify, is shown by Presidential elections thus: In 1880 votes cast were 84 per cent. of the number of qualified voters; in 1884, 81 per cent.; 1888, 82.3

per cent.; 1892, 79 per cent.; 1896, 82.8 per cent.; 1900, 77 per cent.; 1904, 67.6 per cent.; 1908, 67.2 per cent.; 1912, 62.8 per cent.; 1916, 70.5 per cent., and 1920, 50.9 per cent.

In the pending campaign of 1924 the candidates will address a voting electorate, after deducting ineligible, of nearly 60,000,000 native and naturalized citizens. There are, first, the 26,713,832 actual voters of 1920, except those who have died; there are, second, the 25,705,000 stay-at-homes of 1920; and there are, third, 7,300,000 new voters who have become of age since 1920, together with about 600,000 newly naturalized foreign-born voters. Some deductions must be made for colored voters unable to qualify under the property and taxation requirements of Southern registration laws, but, as a partial offset to these, there has been a heavy exodus of colored men and women from the South to industrial States in the North. The total number of American citizens entitled to qualify for election is therefore probably not far short of 60,000,000. This does not mean that there are this number of qualified voters, because to become a qualified voter a citizen 21 years of age must establish a legal residence—usually about one year in the State and three to six months in the county—and he must meet the other requirements under the election laws of his State, including, in cities at least, registration, and sometimes taxation and ownership of property.

A nation-wide campaign, both partisan and non-partisan, has been instituted to get out the vote. The women of the country are specially active in this patriotic work. There seems to be a fair prospect that 1924 will see a marked reduction in the size of the stay-at-home army, and that the efficiency rating of government by the people will show commendable improvement.

---



# Armies and Navies of the World

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

## THE UNITED STATES

**S**PEECHES made by Secretary of the Navy Wilbur ridiculing the enforcement of prohibition and attacking the Japanese were the real reasons for his being summarily recalled from the Pacific Coast by the President. An attempt was made to give the slashing of the Naval Appropriation bill by the Budget Bureau as the reason for the Secretary's recall, but this subterfuge was speedily penetrated by the press, as, too, was the effort to cloak the situation behind the aircraft-battleship controversy.

The effect of these attempts to play politics with national defense has had a marked effect on the service. Since the recent exposure of the condition of the navy matters have gone from bad to worse, because of the political mismanagement of the navy's affairs. Ships are to be laid up because funds are lacking for large repairs. Practically no maintenance has been attempted other than the very small repairs that can be undertaken aboard ship, because money is not available for navy yard work. The Navy Department's estimates for the next fiscal year considered the repair of the vessels which are breaking down and the placing of the fleet in a mechanically operative condition. The budget officers, however, removed nearly all these items and cut the necessary aviation appropriation by half, in order to allow the Administration to make a showing of economy in the navy. Further, it has been given out at the White House that the world flight had so impressed the President that he believed that possibly the airplane had supplanted the battleship as a weapon of defense. Although it is certain that the world flight had positively no bearing on the relative abilities of the airplane and battleship as weapons of offense and defense, the exigencies of the political situation called

for an investigation of the supposed Presidential position. Accordingly a board headed by the Chief of Operations, Admiral Eberle, was convened to examine the relative efficiency of aircraft and surface craft. The board was composed of members of the General Board, including both line and aviation officers. The result of the findings was the same as the result of the findings of past boards examining the same subject, that for certain purposes the aircraft are necessary and the navy is far below its necessary strength in planes. But as the prime weapon of sea defense aircraft have not and probably never will supplant the surface types for reasons of stability and offense. This report was unanimous, but it only repeats the statements of past navy and joint army and navy boards.

## JAPAN

**J**APANESE naval officials have expressed the greatest surprise at the tenor of Secretary Wilbur's remarks, which resulted in his recall to Washington, especially that a public official of his rank should give voice to such sentiments concerning a friendly nation in time of peace.

The Navy Department has considered the British protest on the subject of gun elevation and has formulated a reply which is being formally drafted by the Foreign Office for transmission to England. In substance, the position of the Japanese naval authorities is essentially that taken by the United States Navy—that increased elevation was not discussed at the Washington conference and that Part 3 of the Naval Treaty specifically permits such an alteration by its language. In connection with the Japanese reply to the British protest it is well to note the still undenied report that the guns of the battle cruiser Haruna have been or are in the process of being elevated. The elevation of the

guns of the four battle cruisers of the Haruna class is of great importance to Japan, as, in consideration of the vessels' speed, it nearly doubles their value. It would seem that, though the British Government does not regard increased gun elevation as permitted under the treaty, the United States, Japan, France and Italy regard it as legal. In such matters the opinion of the greatest number of powers supposedly controls.

The assignment of two divisions of destroyers to replace the ice-breaker Odo-mari in the northern fishing waters reveals a tense situation between Japan and Russia on the subject of fisheries. The Ninth Destroyer Division, consisting of the Maki, Kuwa, Tsubaki and Keyaki, is assigned to the waters around Northern Karafuto, and the Eighteenth Destroyer Division, consisting of the Tokitsukaze, Amatsukaze and Isokaze, will patrol the coasts of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands.

The old battleship Asahi, which is retained by Japan under the Naval Treaty for training purposes, hit a reef near Hikose on May 28. The vessel sustained considerable damage, but with the aid of the destroyer Shiokaze was towed into Yokosuka.

The present Japanese naval aviation program has as its object the establishment of seventeen corps of planes. The main flying fields will be at Kasumagaura, Yokosuka, Sasebo and Omura. It was intended that two and one-half corps should be added during the fiscal year of 1924, but owing to the decrease in the appropriation only one corps will be added, and it will be stationed at the new aviation base at Chinkai, Korea.

The announcement of the naval appropriation for the year 1924-25 shows 126,322,825 yen (about \$63,161,412) for ordinary expenditures, such as pay and fleet maintenance, and 112,268,793 yen (about \$56,134,396) for extraordinary expenditures, such as the expansion of bases and new construction.

Since the beginning of the year a large number of new and important ships have been received from the builders and put into active service. They

are the cruisers Abukuma, Sendai and Jintsuu, the large destroyers 7, 9, 11, 15 and 17; the 850-ton destroyers 8, 16 and 18; the submarines 44, 58, 69, 71, 73 and 74, together with a number of auxiliaries and special service ships.

#### ITALY

**C**ONTRACTS for a large number of new vessels have been signed recently, and the ships will be started as soon as materials are received, according to the Italian press. The large destroyers Borea, Espero, Astro and Zefero will be constructed by the Orlando Company at Sestri Ponente, the large destroyers Turbine and Aquilone will be built by the Odero Company at Sestri Ponente, and the destroyers Euro and Nembo will be built at the Reva Trigoso Works. The 805-ton submarines G. Busan, M. Colonna and V. Pisani will go to an ex-Austrian yard at Monfalcone, and the 780-ton submarines P. Capponi, G. Proeida and Masaniello will be built by the Franco Tosi Works at Taranto. Three 700-ton minelayers have been contracted for at Ancona and a second group of three at Monfalcone.

The flotilla leader Tigre was launched at Sestri Ponente on July 17, and the leader Leone is announced to be on her trials. The third boat of this class is to be launched shortly.

#### TURKEY

**T**HE Turkish National Assembly has laid out a most ambitious eight-year naval program which will completely revive the Turkish Navy. The program first provides for the reconstruction of the battle cruiser Yavuz Selim, formerly the German Goeben. The funds provided for this purpose were, however, under the bids entered by German and British firms for the work and the project has been meanwhile abandoned. Funds have been voted for the reconstruction of the cruiser Hamidieh, a number of gunboats, two ex-German submarines, six destroyers and five fleet auxiliaries. The second part of the program is given over to new construction. Two large battleships are



to be built in Europe. They are to be named Mustapha Kemal and Dojoum-houriete. Four cruisers, two of 10,000 tons and two of 7,500 tons, are also to be built, as are three flotilla leaders, ten 1,000-ton destroyers and seven submarine mine-layers. The program called for the construction of four additional submarines, but on the announcement of the Greek program of six submarines, the contracts for two of which have been let to the French Schneider Company, the Turkish program was enlarged to six boats. Finally the program calls for a naval mission from one of the great powers, preferably Japan; the establishment of naval aviation bases at the Dardanelles, Smyrna, Adalia and Samsoun, and of aviation schools at Trebizond and Constantinople. On the Gulf of Ismid, in the Sea of Marmora, a modern naval base equipped with large dry docks, is to be established. The old naval schools are to be reorganized and missions of young officers are to be sent to Italy, France and England for study.

#### PORTUGAL

**T**HE Portuguese Government has laid out a program calling for the construction of twelve gunboats in the near future. Also, under this program, the naval arsenal is to be removed from Lisbon to Afeite.

#### NORWAY

**P**ROPOSALS have been sent to the Norwegian Diet for the construction of a 3,500-ton light cruiser, three destroyers, two submarines and two mine sweepers. The submarine B-3 has been

launched at Tosberg. The surface displacement is 418 tons and the submerged tonnage is 543. The speed on the surface is 14.5 knots and submerged 8 knots. The vessel is armed with four torpedo tubes.

#### HOLLAND

**P**ARLIAMENT has voted a sum of 21,000,000 gold florins for naval construction. This sum, it is understood, is half the cost of the new program. The remainder of the cost of the new ships is to be borne by the Government of the East Indies. The new program consists of two fast cruisers, a submarine mine-layer and some small craft. The announcement of the launching of the submarine K-11 at Rotterdam in April has been made. The vessel displaces 670 tons on the surface and 720 tons submerged. The speed on the surface is 18 knots and 9 knots submerged.

#### FINLAND

**A** COMMITTEE of Parliament has recommended the construction of two 3,000-ton coast defense ships, forty motor torpedo boats, one submarine chaser and eight submarines. This program is to cost around 300,000,000 marks and is to be extended over a period of eight years. The first move toward carrying out the program is to be the purchase of two 430-ton submarines building for Peru by the Ansaldo Company in Italy. The Peruvian program consisted of three vessels, and new ships will be laid down by the Ansaldo Company, replacing those sold to Finland.



# Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service

NATURE'S grasp upon one of her most tightly held secrets seems to have been loosened through the efforts of two British chemists. The green plant using the energy of the sunshine is able to convert carbon dioxide and water into starches and sugars, an accomplishment hitherto unequaled by man, in spite of the elaborate apparatus and chemicals at his command. Now Professor E. C. C. Baly of the University of Liverpool has been able to synthesize sugar from those two simple compounds. Instead of the sunshine he uses the mercury quartz lamp as a source of the activating ultra-violet rays. The intermediate compound of the process is, according to Professor Baly, formaldehyde, commonly known as a disinfectant. This is an active and unstable compound. Its existence is so evanescent that it is difficult to detect it before its little molecule unites with others of its kind to form the sugar molecule, which is six times as large.

Professor Baly has not yet completed an unbroken transition from water and carbon dioxide to sugar, but he has obtained formaldehyde from these raw materials. Then taking other formaldehyde made in the ordinary way, he has converted it into sugar. Starting with commercial 40 per cent. solution of formaldehyde and subjecting it to ultra-violet rays for many days he obtained about a pound of a yellowish sweetish syrup which he turned over for analysis to Principal J. C. Irvine of St. Andrew's University, the leading British authority on the carbohydrates. To determine the composition of such a complicated mixture of such complex compounds is a task beyond the capacity of most chemists, but Principal Irvine was able to prove that it contained some 10 per cent. glucose and sugars of a similar sort. This is regarded as an unimpeachable proof of the accomplishment of synthesis of sugars through human

agency by artificial means. American investigators, notably Dr. H. A. Spoehr of the Carnegie Institute and Professor Porter of the University of California, have failed to get from their experiments any evidence of the formation of formaldehyde from carbon dioxide and water. Professor Baly suggested that the reason their results did not agree with his might be the possibility that the quartz of their lamps might have become opaque to the ultra-violet rays essential to the process. He believes that formaldehyde exists in two forms, one the ordinary and the other an activated modification to which the sunshine or artificial rays have imparted a large amount of energy. He has also, by the use of activated formaldehyde and artificial rays, been able to convert ammonia, carbon dioxide and water into nitrogenous compounds of the sort that make up proteins, which indicates that it may not be impossible for man to accomplish the synthesis of these very complex substances which form the physical basis of animal and vegetable life.

The synthesis of starch is another of Principal Irvine's achievements. The structure of this familiar substance has so far remained a mystery, but Principal Irvine has prepared in the laboratory a compound which in composition, character and behavior cannot be distinguished from the starchy substance that occurs in the plants or the liver of animals. He calls it a triglucosan. It seems that he has been able to imitate, if not actually reproduce, one of the fundamental processes of nature on which our food supply depends.

## A NEW SUGAR

A development in the field of food that is likely to have more immediate commercial effect has been made at the National Bureau of Standards at Washington. Cheap carbohydrates have been



one of the great food needs of modern times. Cane and beet sugars have satisfied the sweet tooth of man as well as his energy requirements. Now common sugar is likely to have an ally on tables and in food factories, since a new process for making a novel sugar has been perfected at the Government's research bureau. The novel sugar is levulose, unfamiliar to us although it forms a large part of our daily food. The cane or beet sugar on our tables consists of molecules, each of which is a chain of twelve carbon atoms with oxygen and hydrogen attached. When put in a warm place with acid—and this happens in our stomach—it is "inverted," that is, the molecule is broken into two molecules of six carbon atoms each, which are called, respectively, right-handed, or dextrose, and left-handed, or levulose, referring to the way they twist a ray of polarized light. The first, dextrose, commonly called glucose, is made commercially by the action of warm acid on starch from potatoes or corn.

Certain vegetables, notably the artichoke, contain instead of starch a near relative of it named "inulin," and this breaks down into levulose instead of dextrose. Sugar cane is confined to warm countries and sugar beets to a limited region of the temperate zone. But the artichoke, source of levulose, can be grown anywhere from the equator to the Arctic and with less expense and labor for cultivation than beets. A crop of ten to twenty tons per acre can be obtained and the artichokes will yield 13 per cent. of levulose. Another point of advantage is that the artichokes can be stored out of season without deterioration. They may even be left in the ground and allowed to freeze without the loss of their sugar. Sugar beets, on the other hand, have to be utilized promptly. A beet sugar factory is, therefore, idle for about nine months of the year, whereas an artichoke sugar factory could run the year around. By utilizing both beets and artichokes in the beet sugar factories, the present equipment could be utilized for the new

process. Considering economies in production and the fact that two pounds of levulose will go as far in sweetening power as three pounds of common sugar, it would seem that a formidable competitor and ally has entered the field. It has heretofore been a difficult and expensive process to get levulose in a pure and solid state, and it sold for \$30 to \$100 a pound. But by the method now devised by the Bureau of Standards a white crystalline product is obtained indistinguishable from cane sugar and about as cheap. One disadvantage is that levulose takes up water quite easily. Glucose or dextrose, formerly known only as a yellowish syrup, has within the last year been put on the market in the form of a pure white powder at less than the cost of cane sugar and is now being manufactured at the rate of hundreds of tons a day. Dextrose is only about half as sweet as cane sugar, but this is an advantage for some purposes, such as in condensed milk and ice cream. There will, therefore, soon be available for our every-day use three sweetnesses of cheap carbohydrate foods—glucose, common sugar and levulose, all in finely crystallized form.

#### MEASUREMENT OF LIGHT

During the latter part of September there was held in Philadelphia a notable scientific celebration commemorating the centenary of the Franklin Institute. Six Nobel prize men and a host of other scientific notables from all countries participated in a program of scientific addresses reporting present research as well as recalling a century of progress.

Light has always attracted Professor A. A. Michelson of Chicago, and at this meeting he reported his latest measurements of its speed. Not content with a possibility of an error of a few miles in the 186,300 miles that light travels in a second, Professor Michelson spent the Summer at Mount Wilson Observatory, in California, redetermining the constant of the velocity of light, perhaps the most fundamental constant in all physics. The method used was sim-

ple, although the difficulty of carrying out a determination with high precision can hardly be appreciated. It consisted essentially in sending a beam of light from one mountain peak to another at a known distance, reflecting it back from a mirror there and timing the round trip. The sending station was located on Mount Wilson, not far from the 100-inch telescope, the largest in the world. The receiving and reflecting station was on the top of Mount San Antonio, twenty-two miles away. The distance was measured by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey with an accuracy of two parts in a million.

The source of the ray was a powerful electric arc lamp, giving a light almost as bright as the sun. Passing through a minute hole in front of the lamp, the ray was caught on a revolving octagonal mirror, sent to Mount San Antonio, reflected back from there and received on the original mirror, which is revolved at such a rate as to catch the returned ray on the succeeding face of the octagon. The mirror was rotated by a blast of air playing on a little windmill, and made 530 revolutions a second, its speed being regulated by a tuning fork of known pitch. In this simplified apparatus only two measurements were necessary: (1) the distance between the two stations, which is known by direct measurements, and (2) the time of the round trip, which was given by the speed of rotation of the mirror. The average results of eight observations gave the velocity of light in a vacuum as 186,300 miles per second. This could not be wrong by more than twenty miles. Such work has practical applications. If the velocity of light were known to one part in 200,000, it would be possible to set up a flashlight on one peak and a mirror on another as far away as could be seen, and so get the distance between them in two weeks as accurately as it can now be measured by the steel tape in two years. This method would also be of use in determining distances where direct measurements are impossible.

A maker of lightning, F. W. Peek Jr.,

was fittingly on the program of the Franklin Institute. The generator for the production of artificial lightning constructed at the research laboratory of the General Electric Company at Pittsfield, Mass., gives a discharge of 2,000,000 volts, which is about 2 per cent. of the voltage of natural lightning, and sufficient to afford opportunity for the experimental study of the effects of lightning on buildings and power transmission lines. A thundercloud carrying for example a charge of 100,000,000 volts may, by a flash of lightning to the earth, discharge this burden of electricity within a few millionths of a second in a current of 80,000 amperes. The voltage of the cloud is thus reduced to zero or it may require almost instantly an opposite charge. Because the electricity is discharged at such a rapid rate the power developed is enormous, often amounting to several thousand million horsepower, which is more than is developed by all the steam engines and water wheels of the world. Yet the total energy is not so great as it seems, no more than enough to run an automobile five miles or keep a toaster going all day.

When the population of the United States reaches 200,000,000, as some authorities claim it will in less than 100 years, the problem of obtaining sufficient food is going to be severe. Far-sighted scientists are endeavoring to anticipate this and to answer the question before it becomes acute. The Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, recently opened at Yonkers, N. Y., is an embodiment of this effort. The attack on plant problems in the institute, which was founded by Colonel William Boyce Thompson, will be fundamentally the same as that on the problems of inorganic matter in the earlier researches. Chemists and physicists get at the basic facts about iron and clay and electricity by studying their behavior under exactly controlled conditions. Botanists and physiologists will get the basic facts about plants by controlling their environment conditions.



# A Month's World History

## Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University. Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates

AS in the previous months of the campaign, President Coolidge has remained quietly in the White House, making few addresses, and those before non-political bodies. He has made no campaign speech, though he showed warm interest in the canvass. Some of his utterances may be briefly noted.

The opening of a cable between the United States and the Dominican Republic drew from President Coolidge on Sept. 15 a friendly message on "The Common Good of the Two Countries." It was stated in the President's behalf on Sept. 17 that the Administration would stand on all the treaty rights arising from the Washington Conference during the Harding Administration. His interest in military and naval warcraft was also set forth. The President took account of the Independence Day of Mexico on Sept. 18 to telegraph his good wishes to President Obregon. It was announced on Sept. 20, after an interview with Secretary Wilbur, that a special board would be appointed to make recommendations for the appropriations necessary for naval aircraft and other branches of the service.

Before a mass meeting of the Holy Name Society in Washington on Sept. 21 the President made an elaborate speech bearing on religious liberty. An immense number of people listened to his declaration that the guarantees of the Constitution on that subject "are the essence of freedom and toleration." His speech bore strongly on the authority of law; on the recognition by the American State and National Government of the existence of religion; he

held the "recognition of brotherhood" to be an essential part of American institutions. No religious test for public officers is "the American ideal of ordered liberty under the law."

In an address to a large delegation of the National Association of Retail Druggists at the White House on Sept. 25 the President reminded his hearers of "the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the character, the extent and infinite ramifications of a great political and also business organization."

At a celebration of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the meeting of the First Continental Congress on Sept. 25 the President declared himself against Government ownership of railroads, on the ground that it would surrender about \$600,000,000 a year in taxes, would require an annual payment of \$1,750,000,000 for interest on bonds issued to take up the railway securities; would necessitate the expenditure of \$9,000,000,000 a year by Government officials and the employment of nearly 3,000,000 persons, and would lead to "the domination of a group \* \* \* firmly entrenched in the whole direction of our Government. The privilege of citizenship for the rest of the people would consist largely in the payment of taxes."

The President made a personal inspection of the Bonus Bureau of the War Department on Sept. 27, reviewing an organization of 2,700 employees. It is expected that by March 1, 1925, when the first cash payments begin, nearly all the 4,000,000 applications for bonus policies will be on file. The President showed his interest in questions of conservation by sending a letter dated Sept.

19 to the American Mining Congress at Sacramento, Cal., on Sept. 29, in which he predicted that a demand for gold would shortly arise to the advantage of the gold miners. He declared that "the development of water power, reclamation and the rehabilitation and expansion of our metal-mining industries are thus definitely related." He pointed out that the era of easy construction of dams and pipe lines was going by, and that the next step must be to enter on very large and costly plans, as, for instance, the utilization of the Colorado River.

The President authorized a denial on Sept. 29 of a statement made in a French newspaper that he was against sending a dollar or a bushel of wheat to Russia so long as that country exported wheat. The funeral services of Robert Imbrie, recently murdered by a mob in Persia, were attended by the President at the Arlington National Cemetery on Sept. 29. In a letter to the American Bankers' Association on Sept. 30 he paid a high tribute to the Federal Reserve system. The President took part in a mass meeting of Washingtonians Oct. 1 to greet the members of the Washington baseball team that won the pennant in the American League, good-humoredly congratulating Washington that its people would be able "to resume interest in the ordinary concerns of life."

Gaston B. Means, a former friend of Attorney General Daugherty, and star witness against him, made a confession that he had falsely testified before the Senate Committee. Upon this basis Daugherty sent a public letter on Sept. 19 to John W. Davis, demanding that he take back his criticism of Daugherty and Denby, insisting that the case against him had broken down. Within a few hours Means retracted his retraction, or a large part of it. Rosie Stinson, wife of Jesse Smith, insisted that her testimony was true. Mr. Davis made no retraction. A question of the right of a Senate Committee to require testimony which involves an inspection of Daugherty's bank account is still go-

ing through the courts and can be settled only by a decision of the Supreme Court. Meanwhile suits have been brought against Means for \$268,000 alleged unpaid taxes.

Nothing significant during the month has happened in State affairs except two decisions by State Judges, both of which arose out of the political campaign. The Texas courts on Sept. 30 refused to grant an injunction to prevent Mrs. Ferguson from having her name placed upon the official ballot to become Democratic candidate for Governor. The Court declined to hold that the impeachment of Mrs. Ferguson's husband when Governor in any way affected her status, or to invalidate the nomination on the ground that her husband might have undue influence on her official acts.

In California the Supreme Court, by four to three, held that the names of La Follette electors duly nominated by signatures according to law could not be placed on the ballot, on the ground that electors are only "mere agents of political parties."

The difficulties in the Seattle City Government continue, and there is a deadlock between Mayor Brown and the Seattle reform organizations.

In the Philippine Islands a difficulty has arisen over the refusal of the consuls, acting under direction of the Department of State, to certify vessels bound for the Philippine Islands with liquor on board. The question turns on whether the Volstead act applies to the Philippine Islands, inasmuch as that statute does not expressly include them. A state of famine is reported from Pangasinan and Tarlac Provinces, involving 40,000 people.

#### THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN

Secretary of State Hughes in a speech at Cincinnati on Oct. 4 declared that "there is really only one issue in the campaign and that is, Shall the administration of Calvin Coolidge be continued?" He claimed the confidence of the people for the foreign policy of the Coolidge Administration, adding, "but



the people of this country would never tolerate the submission to any power or group of powers of the determination of any of our domestic questions." He highly praised the Dawes plan, paid a tribute to President Harding's character and policy, and stood by the court investigations of those connected with the oil and other scandals. He claimed for the Republican Party a reduction of Federal expenses from \$5,500,000,000 to \$3,500,000,000; and vigorously attacked the La Follette movement and platform, on the ground that the United States and most of the people were highly prosperous. He protested against the proposed limitation of the Supreme Court as an assault on the privileges of the smaller States and "the enthronement of the Congress over the States."

The most effective Republican campaigner so far has been Charles G. Dawes, who has made many speeches in the Central and Rocky Mountain States. At Sioux City on Sept. 19 he paid his respects to politicians who "promise high prices of beef on the hoof and low prices for beef on the table; high prices for railroad labor and lower railroad rates." To his mind "common sense is a universal remedy" for agricultural and other difficulties. Traveling by special train, he made numerous platform speeches along his line of march, and called his opponents "political pee-wits."

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur, a Californian, has made a speaking tour as far as the Pacific Coast. In a speech at San Francisco on Sept. 5 he made allusion to the possibility that "any nation anticipating war with us will strike before we have an opportunity to prepare by the building of additional ships," which was by his opponents interpreted to be a blow at Japan. In a speech prepared and sent out to the press but not delivered, which was subsequently made public by Senator Caraway of Arkansas, he was quoted as praising Woodrow Wilson's conduct of the war and asserting his belief in the League of Nations, though not in our entering the League at this time; and

he defended the President against accusations that he was indifferent to the share in the oil scandals by public officials.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN

The Democratic field leader has throughout been John W. Davis, candidate for the Presidency, who has spoken chiefly in the Middle West and the East, making elaborate speeches to very large audiences. At a barbecue at Buncetown, Mo., on Sept. 15, the provisions prepared for 40,000 people ran out and 14,000 watermelons were insufficient! His speech at that place turned chiefly on the oil scandals and the alleged responsibility of the Administration for allowing them, though he exercised the gentleman's privilege of saying, "specifically, I do not doubt for one single moment the utter honesty and singleness of purpose of the distinguished citizen who now fills the office of President of the United States." He welcomed the votes of women, insisted on a reduction of freight rates for the benefit of the farmer, and the creation of waterways as a means to reduce rates. In other speeches he argued against the existing Fordney-McCumber tariff and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's plans for reducing surtaxes on very high incomes. At Chicago on Sept. 18 his principal theme was personal and religious liberty, and the lack of harmony between President Coolidge and the Republican members of Congress. He was warmly received in several places in his own State of West Virginia.

At the end of his long trip in the Middle West Mr. Davis predicted that he would be elected with the aid of the farmer and labor vote, "regardless of previous party affiliation." In an address at Princeton, N. J., on Oct. 4 he announced that if he were President in 1925 he would see to it that the United States was represented in any world conference on disarmament, and he hoped for our entrance into the League through "the coordinated will of a nation content with that decision."

Various individuals throughout the country, including some former Republicans, have come out for Davis, including President Hibben of Princeton and President Garfield of Williams College and President Emeritus Eliot of Harvard.

#### THE PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN

The campaign of the Progressives has also been active, a Senator La Follette has spoken in various parts of the country. His followers in Wisconsin insisted on drawing up the list of regular Coolidge electors at the direction of Governor Blaine. The decision of the California Court against the La Follette electors caused the La Follette men to advise voting for the Socialist ticket of electors who are pledged to La Follette. His speeches and those of his spellbinders have made a point of the court decision as evidence that the courts stand against representative government.

In a speech to 14,000 people at Madison Square Garden, New York, on Sept. 19, La Follette laid down the general principles of the Progressive Party, including amendments to the Constitution intended to make the Federal Government more responsive to the people's will, including Federal initiative and referendum, restriction on the decisions of the Federal Courts, election of the Federal Judges, and a general referendum of the nation before going to war. He demanded a larger share of the rewards of the toil of laborers for themselves, protested against the exorbitant profits of the middleman, and demanded the "creation of a corporation that will directly assist in marketing the primary products of agriculture." He held both President Harding and President Coolidge responsible for the oil scandals. He reviewed recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and particularly the annulment of Federal statutes. He declared that the World War showed the dreadful consequences of Governments that were not quickly responsive to popular sentiment.

In another speech in New York on Sept. 28 at the Yankee Stadium, under the direction of the Steuben Society of America, La Follette was greeted by 18,000 people, and paid a tribute to the German immigrants, German-born statesmen, especially Carl Schurz, and protested against the limitation on the use of foreign languages. It was expected by the La Follette managers that practically the whole of the German-American vote (estimated at about 6,000,000) throughout the country, would go to him on election day. Democratic Chairman Shaver agreed that the German vote might turn the election, asserting that if the election were to be held at once there would be no electoral choice, and the election would go into Congress.

The American Bankers' Association at its meeting in Chicago, on Oct. 18, protested against the La Follette program, particularly his proposal to nationalize the railroads. John W. Davis did not share the opinion of his Chairman that there were enough La Follette votes to throw the election into Congress, and he joined the Republicans in defending the powers of the Federal Courts. Samuel Gompers did what he could to carry all the members of the American Federation of Labor into the La Follette camp, and objected to the criticism of the members of Congress made by various campaign speakers.

Senator Wheeler, candidate for the Vice Presidency with La Follette, made a violent attack upon General Dawes on the basis of a transaction in 1910 between the Central Trust Company of Chicago and one of the Lorimer banks in Chicago, winding up with a demand that Dawes withdraw from the ticket. Wheeler also made a vigorous onslaught on Sept. 27 on William J. Bryan, at Lincoln, Nebraska, home town of Charles Bryan, Democratic candidate for Vice President, who has taken a very small part in the campaign. An important accession to the Progressive ranks was Senator Brookhart of Iowa, a regular Republican candidate for the Senate. He joined in the attack on



Dawes and supported La Follette. The straight Socialist and straight Prohibition candidates and the three other minor candidates attracted very little public attention.

Various straw votes have been taken by party managers and others, of which The Literary Digest conducted the only one that was sufficiently extensive and was based on the personal written statement of the voters enumerated. It showed Coolidge far in the lead, with Davis second and La Follette not very far distant as third. In California the reported La Follette vote was about as great as the Coolidge vote, perhaps because of the Supreme Court decision.

#### LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

In several of the States interesting local campaigns were being conducted. In Massachusetts Mayor Curley of Boston, who has had a checkered career, was the Democratic candidate for Governor. Senator Walsh, Democrat, was a candidate for re-election against Gillette, Republican, Speaker of the National House.

The hottest campaign was in New York State, where strong State tickets were put up on both sides. Theodore Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt and Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was nominated for Governor by the Republican Convention on Sept. 23 upon a platform which included an uncompromising denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan. At once he entered on a lively campaign, reminding one of his father's similar campaign in 1898, announcing the intention of making 185 addresses throughout the State. At once on his nomination he resigned his Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy. President Coolidge on Sept. 27 expressed a warm personal interest in this nomination. His campaign included local State issues, including taxation. At the same time the New York Democratic State Convention renominated Alfred E. Smith, the present Governor. Mr. Smith held off for a long time for private reasons, but finally accepted be-

cause assured that he was the strongest Democratic candidate and would greatly aid the national ticket in New York. In his speech of acceptance on Oct. 4 he mainly took up State issues, but went on the stump in defense of the Davis ticket. Mayor Hylan of New York was supposed to have aspirations for the nomination for Governor but found himself unable to attend the convention.

#### FINANCE AND BUSINESS

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on Sept. 20 that wholesale prices and agriculture crops were rising and bank loans increasing. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Dewey made an unofficial statement on Sept. 22 to the effect that the Treasury looked forward to paying off the debt of \$21,500,000,000 within the next twenty-five years, thereby entirely extinguishing the interest charge, which at present is about \$1,000,000,000 a year. This statement seemed to leave out of account the Government obligations issued for the benefit of foreign countries, none of which could extinguish its indebtedness within twenty-five years.

The controversy over the income tax continued. The Democratic campaigners tried to fix upon the Republican Party the responsibility for the Mellon income tax proposition which was not enacted by Congress but might be revived. A special committee of the Senate investigated the working of the income tax, especially on large incomes; and it was expected that heavy corporations and individual taxpayers would be called upon to testify before the committee particularly on all incomes reported above \$100,000 a year.

General business was less affected by the disturbance of the Presidential campaign than usual. No heavy failures were reported except that of Day & Heaton on Sept. 18. This was a New York firm of stockbrokers of more than fifty years' standing, which had been defrauded by Christian, one of the partners, to the amount of nearly \$1,000,000.

The American Bankers' Association in the course of its meeting at Chicago on Sept. 30 and Oct. 1 and 2 debated the question of how to protect property, and particularly the interests of capitalists. A protest was made against the pyramiding of national, State and local taxes. It was reported that the amount on deposit at the end of 1923 in the savings banks amounted to over \$18,000,000,000, or \$166 per capita for the whole nation. The Protective Committee of the association estimated the cost of crime, robberies and court, police and prison expenses at over \$3,000,000,000.

A new trust question arose out of an attack made upon Secretary of the Treasury Mellon by John W. Davis and others, in connection with the Aluminum Company of America, in which the Mellon family are heavy stockholders. The Tariff Commission recently reported that that company was in a "monopolistic position" and "apparently engaged in various practices forbidden by a judicial decree." The matter was taken up by John W. Davis and others as part of the political campaign, and they claimed that the tariff gave an advantage to the company that enabled it to make a profit of 40 per cent a year.

Little change was reported in the conditions of agriculture except that the price of wheat has risen to \$1.50 a bushel. The potato crop for the last season is estimated at 13,000,000 bushels. Charges were made that the price of bread was out of relation to the price of wheat and that something ought to be done for the relief of the consumers.

The postal service, costing the country \$638,000,000 a year, was now almost the only Government service that was nearly self-sustaining. A drive has been made in several cities against the attempt of telephone companies to increase rates.

At Wilbur Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, on Oct. 2, an army dirigible carried up and let loose a messenger plane in the air. A plan has been suggested

for an international air mail service to Panama and South American countries.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

New questions and new remedies constantly arise in the enforcement of the Volstead act. John Phillip Hill, Congressman from Maryland, makes it his practice to manufacture cider and wine for his private use, on the claim that he has a right to make cider of an alcoholic content of 2.75 per cent. for his use and to give to his friends. A temporary injunction was issued against him some months ago, and he has now been arrested and seeks a judicial decision on the question of cider rights.

In Philadelphia the question of whether General Butler should remain as the head of the Police Department has apparently been settled. The Protestant churches of the city organized in Butler's behalf. The Secretary of the Law Enforcement League on Sept. 24 telegraphed President Coolidge asking him to interfere and charging "political corruption all down the line in Pennsylvania by Federal office-holders." A meeting was finally arranged between General Butler and Mayor Kendrick. It was the first time they had met in several months and they parted amicably.

Donald B. MacMillan, a veteran Arctic explorer, returned on Sept. 20 to Wiscasset, Maine, after an absence of a year and a quarter, without reporting any important new discoveries. The expedition had a radio set; though there were difficulties in working it, they received many messages from Germany, England and the United States.

The Rev. William Montgomery Brown, who was convicted of heresy by the Court of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, initiated an appeal to the country. The Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York, who had been a storm centre in Presbyterian theology, resigned his pastorate in New York.

The Russell Sage Foundation, after making a survey of unemployment, reported that "widespread unemployment



is now a constant phenomenon with far-reaching economic, social, psychological and moral bearings." The report, which was based on data collected in thirty-one States, related that every year not less than 1,000,000 persons in the United States were out of work all or part of the time and sometimes as many as 6,000,000. The report was very severe upon the private employment agencies for incompetence and direct plundering of the workmen and it advocated public employment agencies.

The question of child labor has come up before the whole country through the agitation over the proposed twentieth amendment. In Massachusetts a direct issue has been made by the submission to a referendum of the question of ratifying the amendment by the next Massachusetts Legislature. The amendment is supported by labor organizations and by many humanitarians. It has been endorsed by the Massachusetts Democratic State Convention; but Cardinal O'Connell and other Catholic authorities in Massachusetts have come out against it; and Mayor Curley, the Democratic candidate for Governor, has withdrawn his support.

After a long controversy the Department of Labor decided that there was not sufficient proof that Luis Firpo, Argentine prize fighter, had broken the immigration laws, and therefore he was not to be deported. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia decided that the Republic of San Marino was a nation entitled to a quota of immigrants.

#### MILITARY AND NAVAL

A notable event in military affairs was the formal retirement of General John J. Pershing from active service,

having arrived at the age limit of 64. He issued a brief address to his comrades at arms on Sept. 13. Under a special act of Congress he retains the pay and emoluments of a General in active service. The organization of the First Division of American Expeditionary Forces presented him a sword on Oct. 4. On the day of retirement President Coolidge publicly expressed the "thanks of the nation for his eminent services," which have extended from his graduation from West Point in 1866 to 1924.

The great naval dirigible Shenandoah began a trip of over 20,000 miles within the boundaries of the United States. The successful use by that ship of helium gas called attention to the necessity for saving the supplies of that rare element.

The giant Zeppelin airship ZR-3, which left Friedrichshafen, Germany, on Oct. 12, arrived in New York on the morning of Oct. 15, after having successfully crossed the Atlantic by way of the Azores and Nova Scotia, a total distance of almost 4,500 miles. The dirigible flew low down over New York City and then proceeded to Lakehurst, N. J.

The American Legion, flanked by associations of members of special arms of the service and of divisions and other military units, continued to press for more speed in the legal proceedings against Colonel C. R. Forbes, now under indictment in connection with his administration as Director of the United States Veterans Bureau. Federal Judge Carpenter of Chicago overruled on Sept. 19 the delaying demurrers, filed by Forbes's counsel. The sixth annual convention of the American Legion at Washington elected General James A. Drain as National Commander, General Pershing not seeing his way to accept that position.

---

# Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

EVIDENCE of a growing friendly interest in the United States in the industrial, commercial and financial problems and difficulties of Mexico was seen in the visit to Mexico during September of two missions representing United States industrial, financial and petroleum interests, and in the offer by United States investment bankers of a new issue of \$50,000,000 gold dollar bonds of the United States of Mexico.

An American industrial mission to Mexico, organized by the American Manufacturing Export Association and composed of sixty representatives of leading financial and industrial institutions in the United States, left New York City on Sept. 9 and arrived in Mexico City on Sept. 15. The mission went in no official capacity, but only as a group of business men desirous of evidencing interest in and friendship for Mexico. Mexican officials paid a call on the members of the mission shortly after their arrival in Mexico City. The following night the members were the personal guests of President Obregón at the official ceremony held at the National Palace to celebrate the 114th anniversary of the proclamation of Mexican independence by Father Miguel Hidalgo. The mission left Mexico City for the United States on Sept. 20. Upon their arrival in New York on Sept. 23 it was reported that the members of the mission were optimistic concerning Mexico's future and were emphatic in their praise of President Obregón and other Mexican officials.

A committee of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico, an organization composed of United States and other foreign petroleum companies operating in Mexico, left New York City on Sept. 13 for Mexico City. The committee went to Mexico, by previous arrangement with the Mexican Govern-

ment, to discuss with Government officials the present status of the petroleum industry in Mexico and to work out practical measures under which future development of the petroleum industry might be undertaken in that country.

Announcement of the offer of a new issue of \$50,000,000 United States of Mexico 6 per cent. gold dollar bonds at a price to yield 9 per cent. was made on Sept. 29 by J. L. Arlitt & Co., bond brokers, of Austin, Texas, and New York City. The proposed loan was entitled: "United States of Mexico Oil Production Tax External Loan of 1924." The bonds thus offered for sale are to be payable from the direct pledge of the oil production tax levied by the Mexican Government and collected from all petroleum companies operating in Mexico. Collections for interest and sinking funds are to be made direct from oil companies, which would deposit in New York the oil production taxes that they are required to pay to the Mexican Government.

The announced purpose, in part, of this new issue of Mexican bonds is to provide for the payment of interest for 1924 on Mexico's external debt, which includes an original principal of \$517,000,000, plus interest thereon, totaling \$200,000,000, which was unpaid between the years 1914 and 1923. The balance of the proposed new issue, after deducting \$17,500,000 for the 1924 service on the present bonded indebtedness of Mexico, is to be used for general governmental purposes, including floating indebtedness.

In offering the bonds for sale the bond brokers stated that according to official figures the petroleum industry in Mexico on March 10, 1923, was valued at \$1,050,532,434 (United States currency) of which 57.7 per cent. is owned by United States oil interests, and that the oil production tax paid by



petroleum companies operating in Mexico has exceeded \$20,000,000 annually for the past four years. The negotiations culminating in the offer of the new bond issue were conducted by J. L. Arlitt with Mexican Finance Minister Pani. Mr. Arlitt announced at Houston, Texas, on Oct. 1 that 65 per cent. of the total issue had already been sold to buyers throughout the United States.

The floating of such a loan has for some months been the most urgent need of the Mexican Government, which body is heavily in debt. Since the suspension of service on the foreign debt on June 30 there has been little, if any, financial relief for the Government save that which was realized through reduction of the army and the discharge of many Government employes. A large number of exasperated Government employes on Sept. 9 besieged the ante-room of the Treasury Department in an effort to lodge protests with Secretary of the Treasury Pani because of the continued non-payment of their salaries. Official announcement was made in Mexico City on Sept. 11 that part of the May salaries in arrears would be paid by Sept. 15, and that the Government confidently expected to be able to pay all back salaries by Oct. 15.

Pessimism with respect to the future relations between capital and labor in Mexico was expressed by President Obregón in an address to the visiting American Industrial Mission on Sept. 20. Prediction was made that much more blood would have to be shed in Mexico because of the activities of a certain group that was opposing the Government's efforts to revise the standard of living of the masses and to overthrow the Government if possible. The assertion was made that the Mexicans were again ready to shed their blood in order to secure betterment and reforms to which the lower classes were entitled. The Government's aim to improve the condition of the masses was evidenced by the following statements in the annual Presidential message read by President Obregón to Congress on Sept. 1: During the fiscal year ending

on Sept. 1, a total of 411,938 hectares of land were assigned to 233 villages as definite communal possessions and 332 villages were granted provisional possession of 751,025 hectares.

Strikes of employes of the Huasteca and Pierce petroleum companies were settled early in September. During the latter part of August and the early part of September the Huasteca strike situation assumed a very serious character. Frequent acts of sabotage were committed by the strikers, damages to the pipe lines alone resulting in the loss of 25,000 barrels of oil by Sept. 2. The presence of Federal troops as a guard at the Mata Redonda camp of the Huasteca company was vigorously protested by 3,000 workers from various companies, who held a street demonstration in Tampico during the latter part of August. The Huasteca company signed an agreement with the strikers on Sept. 8; virtually all demands were conceded. The Pierce Company strike was settled on Sept. 11 when the company accepted the demands of the strikers with only minor changes. On Sept. 8 the workers of the Mexican Gulf Petroleum Company went on a strike to enforce demands similar to those previously made by the Huasteca strikers. The Mexican Gulf strike continued into October, and several workers were killed in clashes between strikers and Federal troops guarding the property of the company.

The Confederation of Industrial Chambers of Mexico during August made sixty-eight objections to the new Mexican income tax law. With Sept. 1 as the date for the filing of income tax statements, and Sept. 6 as the final date for the taxpayers to comply with its provisions or be considered as violators and subject to fines, it was announced from Mexico City on August 28 that most of the mining, commerce and industrial chambers had decided openly to oppose the operation of the law. *El Excelsior* reported on Sept. 1 that the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mining and Agriculture throughout Mexico were uniting to defend themselves against any measure that might be

dictated to compel them to pay the tax and were preparing to resort to the courts for relief. President Obregón on Sept. 2 defended the law as a measure whose equity was unquestioned. By Sept. 4 thirty Chambers of Commerce had voiced their opposition to the law; on this date the law was vigorously defended by Secretary of Interior Colunga and Secretary of the Treasury Pani.

All efforts to secure the repeal of the law on constitutional grounds having failed by Sept. 9, at which time the law went into full force, business firms and individuals in Mexico were reported as the month advanced to be determined to oppose the measure, while the Government was maintaining a determined stand on the law and was taking all possible steps for its enforcement. *El Excelsior* on Sept. 24 reported that District Judge Eugenio Sánchez at Monterrey had granted an *amparo* [injunction] solicited by the Cuauhtemoc Breweries, which had steadily refused to pay the income tax.

"Cordial felicitations and fervent wishes for the continued prosperity" of the "great and friendly" Mexican Republic, and for the "personal welfare and happiness" of its Chief Executive were expressed by President Coolidge on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, and in his own name, in a telegram which he sent to President Obregón on Sept. 16, Mexico's Independence Day.

A further step in the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Soviet Russia was the departure from Moscow for Mexico City on Sept. 16 of M. Pestkovsky, newly appointed Soviet Minister to Mexico. In an interview given out on Aug. 28 M. Pestkovsky stated that his Government "approved of the struggle of the Mexican people for independence and trusts that it will remain unthreatened economically and politically."

From Tokio official announcement was made on Sept. 7 that a Japanese mission would shortly leave for Mexico, Central America and South America to study at first hand standards of living

and labor conditions in those countries, with the view of directing Japanese emigrants and also to promote trade between Japan and the Latin-American countries. Mr. Uchiyama, representing the commercial department of the Japanese Foreign Office, was named Commissioner in charge of the mission. Tokio dispatches stated that present transportation facilities would make it possible to transport 70,000 Japanese to Latin-American countries annually.

James B. Stewart, American Consul at Tampico, Mexico, reported to the Department of State on Oct. 4 that he was in receipt of a message from the American Consular Agent at Port Lobos to the effect that William B. Massey, an American citizen, was murdered at Tomo by one Joaquin Saenz, a Mexican. The murdered man was the terminal superintendent of the Metropolitan Oil Company. He is survived by a wife and two children. His residence was given as Muskogee, Okla. Saenz, the Consul reported, was in the custody of the local authorities.

## Honduras

FROM the maze of conflicting reports relating to the sanguinary and disastrous civil war being waged in Honduras between forces of the Provisional Government and the Ferrera revolutionists, the only well authenticated fact was that the struggle continued throughout the greater part of September. Dispatches of Sept. 10 from Managua, Nicaragua, stated that the Ferrera forces had suffered reverses at La Paz and Armencina; the same day denial of reports that the rebels were defeated at La Paz was made in dispatches from San Salvador. From San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua, it was reported on Sept. 12 that General Ferrera was besieging Tegucigalpa and that the position of the Provisional Government was extremely difficult; six days later it was reported from Tegucigalpa that two rebel Generals had been defeated and that General Ferrera was at Yoro with only a remnant of his former forces.



The United States Department of State was advised that on Sept. 22, after thirty-six hours of fighting, General Ferrera entered Comayagua, a town some forty miles west of Tegucigalpa; that Provisional Government forces were reported to be falling back toward Siguatepeque, which is twenty miles west of Comayagua on the road to the north coast; and that Provisional President Tosta left Tegucigalpa on Sept. 23 to assume command of the Government troops in the field. General Gregorio Ferrera, the rebel leader, was gravely wounded in a losing battle with the Government forces on the heights of Comayagua, according to an announcement made at the capital on Oct. 8. The rebel leader was dragged out of the fighting line by Indians. The rebels were declared to have lost 230 men killed in the fighting at San Isidro, where they also were defeated by the Government forces. The defeated rebels fled across the Guatemalan border.

On the north coast 100 United States sailors from the cruiser Rochester were put ashore at La Ceiba on Sept. 10, while the Rochester itself proceeded to Tela to act as a guard for the American Consulate there. From Washington it was reported early in August that estimates of the losses incurred as a result of the two revolutions in Honduras since the beginning of the year placed the damages to property at \$20,000,000, most of which belonged to American and British citizens.

## Nicaragua

THE report of the High Commission of the Republic of Nicaragua for the year 1923, as presented to the Nicaraguan President and to the Secretary of State of the United States, has just been published. The Commission is composed of one Nicaraguan member, who serves as President, and two members named by the Secretary of State of the United States. Dr. J. W. Jenks, arbiter, and Roscoe R. Hill, Commissioner, served as members of the Commission by appointment of the Secretary of State; and at the close of

1923 Dr. Venancio Montalvan was serving as Nicaraguan member of the Commission. According to the report, the census of 1920 gave Nicaragua a total of 638,119 inhabitants, of whom 311,613 were males and 326,506 were females. Leon with 38,318 inhabitants, Managua with 27,839, and Granada with 16,733, were the principal cities. The total value of Nicaraguan commerce for 1923 was approximately 19,329,922 cordobas (a cordoba is worth \$1 at par); which consisted of imports valued at 7,263,715 cordobas and exports of 12,066,207 cordobas. The national revenues for 1923 totaled 3,797,684 cordobas; this amount shows increases of 37 per cent. and 39 per cent. over the years 1921 and 1922 respectively. At the beginning of 1923 the total of the external and internal debts of Nicaragua was 8,814,780 cordobas; at the beginning of 1924 the total of the consolidated debt had been reduced to 7,559,059 cordobas.

The highest death rate in the history of Managua has been caused by an epidemic of measles, followed by dysentery, typhoid, and paratyphoid fevers. In a period of three months ending Sept. 18 approximately 1,200 deaths occurred from these diseases.

## Panama

ELABORATE ceremonies were held in the City of Panama beginning Sept. 25 and continuing to Sept. 30 in connection with the dedication of a monument erected in that city to the memory of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, discoverer of the Pacific Ocean in 1513. Dr. John Glover Smith, the United States Minister to Panama, was designated by the Department of State as Special Ambassador at the ceremonies.

Dr. Rodolfo Chiari assumed the Presidency of Panama on Oct. 1. Cabinet appointments made by him were the following:

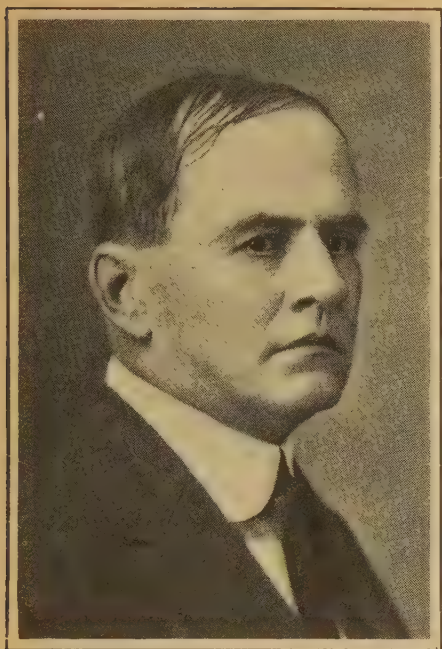
CARLOS L. LOPEZ—Government and Justice.

HORACIO F. ALFARO—Foreign Relations.

EUSEBIO A. MORALES—Treasury.

OCTAVIO MENDEZ PEREIRA—Public Instruction.

TOMAS GABRIEL DUQUE—Public Works.



RODOLFO CHIARI  
The new President of Panama

The resignation of Colonel Jay J. Morrow as Governor of the Canal Zone has been accepted by Secretary of War Weeks, as of Oct. 15. Colonel Meriwether L. Walker, for three years assistant to the Canal Zone Governor, has been named to succeed Colonel Morrow.

Regarding the new President of the Republic, Crede Haskins Calhoun, a student of Panama, in a special contribution to THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, writes:

The inauguration of Rodolfo Chiari as President of Panama brings another man of the people, a popular President, to the head of a Latin-American nation, and demonstrates the increasing effectiveness of popular elections and their substitution for revolutions in these countries. President Chiari is more than a popular President. He is a self-made man, which is the type of man that has often come to the helm of the Ship of State in the United States; seldom, however, has such a man been so honored by our neighbors to the south. He was born on Oct. 15, 1869, at Aguadulce, an old town in the

interior of the country near the Pacific Coast. His schooling ended at the age of 12, when he left his father's farm and went to Panama City, then the seat of Government of the Departamento de Panama of the United States of Colombia. Obtaining employment as an office boy at the French Bazaar, now one of the city's leading department stores, young Chiari, during his nine years' service in the store, studied at night, employed teachers and tutors and proceeded with his self-education. Subsequently an attempt to go into business for himself was interrupted by the illness of his father, and he was forced to return to Aguadulce, where he looked after the family until the death of his father a couple of years later. As head of the family he now found himself obliged to settle in Aguadulce. He became a cattle raiser and prospered to the extent that he was able to give to his three younger brothers the education that had been denied him on their account. Eduardo Chiari, one of the members of the commission appointed to negotiate the new treaty between the United States and Panama, was educated in the University of Bogota, and another brother died while attending school in Cartagena, Colombia.

Chiari held his first office under the Colombian Government when he was made Municipal Treasurer of Colon in 1898; he ultimately tendered his resignation because he was a member of the Liberal Party which sought the separation of Panama from Colombia. After the revolution he was a member of the first national convention of the new republic, and from 1905 to 1910 he served as Municipal Treasurer of Panama, Under-Secretary of Finance in the Administration of President Obaldia, and as manager of the national bank. He was elected Third Vice President in 1910, and served as Chief Executive for a month and a half after the resignation of President Pablo Arosemena. In 1912 he was elected First Vice President at the time of the first election of his present predecessor, Dr. Belisario Porras. A decade of public service followed, and at the last election held on Aug. 3, as candidate of the Liberal Party, he was elected President by an overwhelming majority over General Quintero, the Opposition candidate. Although President Chiari served his Government a great part of the time from 1905 until his elevation to the post of its Chief Executive, he did not lose his interests in his home town of Aguadulce. When the cattle business began to fail he started planting his land with sugar cane, and he was the first Panamanian to produce sugar in the republic. He has devel-



oped his sugar plantation until it is now one of the largest and best in the country.

When asked about his policies as President he said he had only one—the best service he could give to his Government and his people. His attention being called to the policy of economy of President Coolidge, he smiled and explained that he had learned personal economy when he was very young, but there are two kinds of economy—foolish and wise. He said that if his Government had the necessary money, he believed it was the best economy to invest the funds for the benefit of the Government and the people; he explained that he would complete the roads started in the Administration of President Porras, and would build more if he could, and that he would do anything he could for the development of the country, being especially interested in progress along agricultural lines.

## Haiti

THE total foreign commerce of Haiti for the eight-month period ended May 31 was \$22,947,485, which consisted of imports valued at \$10,468,437 and exports of \$12,479,048. The national revenues of Haiti for the ten-month period ended July 31 totaled \$7,299,488.72; the total governmental expenses for the same period—including interest payments on the national debt, sinking fund payments, and the salary of the United States General Receiver of Customs—were exactly 4 cents less than the above-mentioned receipts. Since the assumption of the financial supervision of Haiti by the United States in 1915 the liabilities of the Haitian Government were reduced from \$32,105.843 on Aug. 31, 1915, to \$22,973,843 on July 21, 1924.

## Dominican Republic

THROUGH an exchange of diplomatic notes, effected on Sept. 25, the Governments of the United States and the Dominican Republic each agreed to accord to the other unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with respect to customs duties and other charges affecting commerce. The arrangement is similar to one recently made between the United States and Nicaragua.

Application for membership in the League of Nations was made by the Dominican Republic during September.

Direct cable service between the United States and the Dominican Republic was inaugurated on Sept. 15. Felicitations exchanged between Presidents Coolidge and Vásquez were the first messages transmitted over the new cable.

An issue of \$2,500,000 of Dominican Republic two-year 5½ per cent. collateral trust gold notes, due in September, 1926, and amply secured, was offered by New York bankers, with the approval of the United States Government, on Sept. 25. The purpose of the issue is to provide funds for a program of highway improvements in the Dominican Republic.

## Cuba

THE Presidential campaign was marred on Oct. 5 by serious encounters at Camaguey and Oriente Province between the Federal police and adherents of former President Menocal, who was seeking re-election. The authorities announced that seven persons were killed and sixty wounded in the fighting, which followed a Menocal parade. Immediate action was taken by President Zayas, 400 troops being dispatched to the scene. General Menocal, who denied responsibility for the clash, was permitted to continue his campaign.

The Conservative Party on Sept. 9 designated as candidate for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with General Menocal Dr. Domingo Mendez Capote, who was elected to this office with President Estrada Palma in 1905.

Imports from Cuba into the United States in the first eight months of 1924, according to the United States Department of Commerce, amounted to \$281,881,001, compared with \$295,892,070 in the same period of 1923. Exports to Cuba in those eight months were \$130,038,919 in 1924, as compared with \$128,578,702 in 1923.

# South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania.

**A**N international campaign to celebrate a joint Columbus Day and Pan-American Day throughout the United States and Latin America was launched during September by the International Pan-American Committee, composed of North and South Americans who are interested in developing better relations between the two continents. A beginning was made with Columbus Day, on Oct. 12. Under date of Sept. 25 President Coolidge wrote to the committee: "It is to be hoped that there will be widespread recognition of Columbus Day along the lines that your committee favors."

The Pan American Union in Washington decided to submit to the various republics of South America for ratification copies of the convention agreed upon in Mexico on July 21 for the regulation of radio and cable messages between the two continents. This document was approved by commissioners from six of the republics. A United States representative to this inter-American conference, A. H. Babcock, was quoted by the press as opposed to certain features of the agreement, on the ground that these tended toward Government ownership. Delegates from the United States did not sign the agreement.

## Argentina

**A** RESOLUTION adopted by the Senate on Sept. 24 requested the Argentine Government to inform the Holy See that the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Giovanni Beda Cardinale, was no longer persona grata and to recall the Argentine Minister to the Vatican, Garcia Mansilla. The resolution further requested the Government to obtain from the Vatican a definite pronouncement regarding the Archbishopric of

Buenos Aires. Mgr. Michele de Andrea was nominated some months ago for this post, but the Vatican instead appointed him Apostolic Delegate for South America.

Major Pedro Zanni, the Argentine round-the-world flier, who started from Amsterdam, Holland, on July 26, experienced difficulties at some of his landing places in China because of civil war in that country. The Argentine Consul advised Zanni to delay departure from Hongkong until the fighting around Shanghai had ceased. He disregarded the warning and on Oct. 1 safely reached Shanghai, where he was informed that his Government had appointed him a Lieutenant Colonel. On leaving for Japan shortly afterward, Colonel Zanni said: "I do not want to return to Buenos Aires unless I have tried to cross the Pacific by air. I would rather die." He arrived in Japan on Oct. 9, and immediately began preparations for the transpacific flight.

The Argentine Government announced the granting of a 50-year concession to an Italian company for the laying of one or more cables from Buenos Aires to Montevideo, Uruguay.

Argentina continued its expenditures to advance the interests of its nationals. The executive power asked permission to expend in 1925 the sum of 17,738,500 pesos (a paper peso equals approximately 30 cents) in the betterment of sanitation in Buenos Aires. It was proposed also to establish a permanent floating fair in one of the vessels of the navy.

Publication of a newspaper article criticizing Dr. Thomas C. Breton, Minister of Agriculture, led to a sabre duel between the Minister and Deputy Molinari on Oct. 6. Both were slightly wounded.



## Brazil

IT was reported that the Brazilian rebel forces recently driven from the city and vicinity of Sao Paulo had resumed their activities. The revolutionists on Sept. 16 captured the Brazilian River ports of Guayra and Mendez, on the upper Paraná, killing or capturing the Federal garrisons in both ports. The commander of the Federal forces in the Paraná district, together with fourteen officers and men, were said to be the only ones to escape. They succeeded in crossing the river and reaching Puerto Aguirre, Argentina, where they were disarmed by the maritime authorities. Refugees reported that the western part of the State of Paraná was under the control of rebel forces.

A departmental committee of the British Foreign Office was ordered to investigate the alleged arrest and deportation of Walter Annesley Stewart, Counselor of the British Embassy at Rio de Janeiro, who declared that he had been seized without warning by policemen and detained two days. When released on a doctor's certificate he was ordered to leave the country. The British Ambassador, Sir John A. C. Tilley, arranged to return home for the purpose of giving evidence at the inquiry.

The Minister of Agriculture called a special meeting of the Superior Council of the Agricultural Defense League on Sept. 9 to discuss additional steps to combat the coffee plague, which had spread beyond the Campinas district. Thousands of trees in the principal coffee section of Brazil were blighted. It was announced that lack of rain in the Sao Paulo district during September would reduce the coffee crop below previous estimates.

## Chile

POLITICAL problems have been uppermost in Chile during the month under review. The resignation of President Alessandri and his withdrawal to Argentina on Sept. 9 cleared

the way for the selection of a Cabinet by General Altamirano, the new President. Ambassador William M. Collier in Santiago telegraphed the State Department that the Directorate of the Democratic Party (the labor party) had, on Sept. 18, issued a manifesto recounting recent occurrences and condoning the military coup. The manifesto counseled party members to refrain from strikes, and urged increased production as the only means of reducing the high cost of living.

The Executive Committee of the Radical Party, the political body with the largest membership, issued a manifesto on Sept. 19 stating that the parliamentary system and electoral corruption had produced such evils that, although the dissolution of Congress was a violation of the law, they countenanced it because it ended a baneful régime and cleared the ground for a better order of things. This party declared against military rule and demanded the calling of a Constitutional Assembly at once, insinuating that the military "junta," a military triumvirate, would seek to prolong its control.

All parts of Chile reported tranquillity, the political coup having been carried out without recourse to arms. A national holiday on Sept. 19 passed without undue excitement. The military Government on this day decided upon the dissolution of the municipal Governments of Santiago and Valparaiso. Communal administrative councils then assumed the duties of these municipal Governments. Many appointees of ex-President Alessandri resigned their offices to clear the field for the military Cabinet and its civilian aids. Señor Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Premier of the last Cabinet under former President Alessandri, left for Buenos Aires on Sept. 20, a voluntary exile. As leader of the Radical Party, he was a potential candidate for President. He intimated that he would reside in France.

The political stroke so recently accomplished in Santiago was expected by some to clear the atmosphere, which had

been surcharged for more than two years. President Alessandri was elected in 1920 through the enthusiastic support of the Liberal Alliance, a body which included pronounced radical elements. The Chilean Presidential term is five years, and under ordinary circumstances elections would be held next June, the new President assuming office the following December. During recent months President Alessandri had been gradually losing support. He was democratic, but distinctly not radical; he planned to change the Government from its present oligarchical form to one more democratic, but by using evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods. This did not meet with approval on the part of his former Radical supporters. The aristocratic minority, still influential in the legislative houses, never favored the tendency toward more representative government.

The Chief Executive, however, had economic as well as political difficulties. He was elected during the afterglow of war prosperity, but took office at the beginning of the business slump, which affected Chile as it did the entire business world. Chilean exchange fell from 20 cents per peso to 10 cents when nitrate became a drug on the market. Great copper mines as well as nitrate plants were compelled to discharge thousands of men and an unemployment problem presented itself. For forty years export taxes on nitrate had yielded national revenues of \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 annually, in some years supplying 60 per cent. of the operating expenses of the Government. Drained of much of this income in 1921 and 1922, Government coffers became empty. Increase in taxation was inevitable, but was neither popular with nor intelligible to the rank and file of the electorate. A struggle lasting nearly a year between the Chief Executive and his opponents in the Senate ended with the President's resignation.

The most pressing problems of the new Government were financial. Presi-

dent Altamirano accepted the bond proposal of the Banco Español de Chile (Spanish Bank of Chile) to provide for an issue of 40,000,000 paper pesos (approximately \$4,000,000). Nitrate lands sold by the Government on Sept. 14 netted over \$7,000,000, considerably above the estimated receipts of the sale. The surplus income thus afforded was sufficient to obviate the necessity of floating the loan of 1,750,000 pounds sterling, which had been under consideration.

Within a week after General Altamirano became President, the Senate passed a bill for handling the deficit of 110,000,000 pesos which had to be met. The Workmen's Compensation act also received Senatorial approval. Both bills became law, as they had previously been approved by the Chamber of Deputies. Both houses also passed the budget for 1924 as submitted by a joint Congressional committee.

To curtail expenses Chile recalled forty of its fifty military officers in foreign service. Military attachés will be maintained for the present in the United States, Great Britain, France, Argentina, Brazil and Ecuador; also five military officers now studying in France.

A well-known Chilean journalist supplies the following explanation of the recent change:

It is certainly too soon to estimate in its full significance the political change through which Chile is still passing. In some ways, the term peaceful revolution best describes the assumption of the executive power by a military Cabinet, the subsequent resignation of President Alessandri and the dissolution of Parliament. In another sense, what happened can be termed a reactionary ebb-tide working through a forcible seizure of power by a coalition of the armed forces and the opposition parties, with the passive assent of the labor groups. Several factors of a complicated nature have contributed to make public opinion accept an abandonment of the Alessandri policies, thus making an outcast of the man who was until yesterday the idol of the masses. In the first place, good as Alessandri's intentions always were, he was handicapped by the lack of solid financial ability, without which neither the re-establishment of



a badly managed treasury nor the financing of his own economic reforms was possible. For example, income taxation was one of the President's pet reforms, but the bill in which his ideas were embodied was so faulty that it gave the Opposition the chance to criticize it and offer amendments so as to swing popular sentiment in their favor. Many other causes of an unavoidable nature, such as the earthquake of 1922, helped to increase the already too heavy burden of the public debt. Two further causes for public resentment completed the alienation of the people. The Radical Party, the strongest in the Government, went out determined to win the Parliamentary elections, and it succeeded by undisguised pressure at the polls. This triumph was followed by bullying Congress into passing a bill providing a substantial salary for members, which hitherto had never been attempted in Chile. To gauge the psychological affect of this, it must be borne in mind that at the time the salaries of public employes were six months in arrears; that public pensions to veterans and the police had been suspended indefinitely, and that, worst of all, the army was clamoring for increased pay. At this juncture, nothing was so easy as to unite the Opposition with the discontented officers of the army and navy, who had already formed juntas for political action. It appears that General Altamirano, the visible head of the movement, and his friends intended only to coerce Congress to accept their views, leaving Alessandri in his post, though somewhat shorn of his power; but the President refused to retain responsibility without full authority, nor would Congress submit to the dictates of a military Cabinet; and so the movement had to be carried to its logical conclusion.

## Colombia

THE Colombian Congress recently took action to finance a contract for the removal of the mud bar at the mouth of the Magdalena River. This undertaking, known as the Boca de Cenizas project, is of prime importance to the exporters and importers of the country, and especially to Barranquilla, the chief port of the country, at the mouth of the river. Ocean-going vessels have hitherto been compelled to load and unload at Puerto Colombia, eighteen miles distant. Reports received in the latter part of September stated that the Magdalena had risen,

due to heavy rains, thus rendering the transportation of freight more certain and rapid.

The Banco de la Republica at Bogota, founded as a semi-official bank of issue on July 20, 1923, reported on the activities of its first fiscal year. This bank was organized by a commission of American experts invited by the Government of Colombia to draw up plans for monetary and fiscal reform. Hastily opened on July 23, 1923, several months in advance of the intended time, it forestalled a serious financial crisis, threatened by the failure of the Lopez bank in Bogota. In the first year of its existence the bank regularized the currency of the country, reduced the discount rate from 12 to 7 per cent., increased the gold reserve above the legal minimum and made a profit of approximately \$300,000.

## Paraguay

THE budget of Paraguay, covering the period Sept. 1, 1923, to Aug. 31, 1924, and promulgated on Dec. 1, 1923, provided for an expenditure of \$2,724,644. On June 7, 1924, the Provisional President of the republic signed a bill increasing the expenditure for the current year by \$127,000. Of the entire budget increase the military forces received more than two-thirds, the remainder being expended for education, the diplomatic service and sanitation.

## Peru

IN connection with the celebration of the centennial of the battle of Ayacucho in December an exhibition of the mining industry is to be held. Sections will be devoted to the early history of mining in Peru, covering the pre-Columbian and Colonial periods.

The first session of Congress since the re-election of President Leguia convened on Aug. 6. A commission which has been studying tariff revision in Peru for the past year will submit its recommendations at this session of the Legislature.

# The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

## Great Britain

GREAT BRITAIN'S first Labor Government has appealed its case from the House of Commons to the British people. After nine months of precarious suspension the Damoclean sword of Parliamentary disapproval fell upon the MacDonald Cabinet on Oct. 8, when the Commons adopted a resolution which the Prime Minister had declared would "end a Government which had contributed much to the honor and social stability of the country." Exercising his constitutional option, Mr. MacDonald, instead of resigning, advised the King, whom the crisis had brought hurrying from Scotland to London, to dissolve Parliament. This advice was accepted and the general election was fixed to take place on Oct. 29.

The decision of the Commons to have done with the situation which had existed since Labor took office was expressed upon what T. P. O'Connor, the "Father of the House," characterized as a "tin pot issue." Early in August John Ross Campbell, editor of a Communist organ, *The Worker's Weekly*, was arrested at the instance of the Director of Public Prosecutions and charged at the Bow Street Police Court, London, with having published an article which was intended to seduce the members of the fighting forces from their allegiance to the King. The charge, however, was withdrawn, and Campbell was released by direction of the Public Prosecutor, who acted in this case upon instructions from the Attorney General. The reason given for withdrawing the charge was that the only object of the article was to oppose the employment of the army in industrial disputes. Immediately afterward the Communist Party issued a statement to the effect that Campbell had suggested no such defense, that the article was concerned

with war as well as with industrial disputes (in point of fact it had urged the workers "to turn your weapons upon your oppressors," to use them in the class war, but to refuse to fight the workers of their own or other countries) and that "the withdrawal of the charge was made upon the sole responsibility of the Labor Government under severe pressure from Labor members of Parliament."

A considerable body of public opinion in England felt that the Government should make some reply to this charge that the executive had yielded to the political pressure of the radical members of the Labor Party and interfered with the administration of justice. No explanation was forthcoming, and when the House of Commons met on Sept. 30 the Conservative leader gave notice of a motion of censure. The Liberals declared that they would not support such a motion, but that they would seek to amend it so that it would provide for a Parliamentary inquiry into the case. The Government declined to accept either resolution, which meant that the adoption of one or the other by the House would involve either its resignation or the dissolution of Parliament. On Oct. 8 the direct censure motion failed, but the Liberal substitute was carried by 364 votes to 198, every Conservative and all but twelve of the Liberals voting against the Government. During the debate which preceded the division Sir Patrick Hastings, the Attorney General, who ordered the dismissal of the charges against Campbell, told the House that he had done so because of the Communist's distinguished war service, which had left him a cripple, and because the Cabinet had decided that prosecution would do more harm than good.

The real reasons which led to the defeat of the Labor Government, however,



must be sought in certain questions more important than the prosecution of a Communist editor, and in the broader aspects of the political situation that had arisen in England. When Parliament adjourned on Aug. 7, with the expectation of reconvening on Sept. 30, the life of the Government seemed to be threatened in connection with two major issues, while several minor matters increased its embarrassment. The critical issues were the ratification of the Anglo-Soviet treaty and the settlement of the Irish boundary question; and it was freely predicted that either might prove the undoing of Premier MacDonald. During the recess every effort was made to persuade Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State to reach some agreement which would make it unnecessary for the Imperial Parliament to pass the bill, which had already been introduced, authorizing the British Government to appoint the Ulster representative on the boundary commission in case Ulster finally refused to do so. These efforts at conciliation were fruitless, and on Sept. 30 the Government proceeded with its bill, despite the opposition of Ulster and the Conservatives. It turned out that in this matter the House was with Mr. MacDonald, for the measure passed without amendment and by a substantial majority. On Oct. 9 the bill became

law, after it had been passed by the House of Lords.

During the recess, Liberal and Conservative attacks upon the Anglo-Soviet treaty had increased in intensity and had seemed to meet with popular approval. At a meeting of the Liberal Party on Oct. 1 ex-Premier Asquith handed in a motion for the rejection of the treaty on account of the proposed loan, "which, among other objections, contemplates that the British taxpayers should be made liable for further loans to the Russian State, raised by means of the guarantee of the British Government as a condition upon which any part of the private claims of certain British creditors should be recognized or met by the Soviet Republic." The Liberal Party,



Prime Minister MacDonald and Miss Joan MacDonald, his second daughter, at Chequers, the official country residence of the British Prime Minister

the veteran leader declared, would not afford even an anticipatory sanction to a guarantee by British taxpayers of a loan of undefined amount upon unspecified conditions to the Soviet Government. At the same time the Liberals made it clear that they were not opposed in principle to the conclusion of a general treaty with Russia.

In several fighting speeches Mr. MacDonald declared that the proposed treaty asked for no blank check, that the loan would be controlled by Parliament as to amount, terms, security and the purposes for which the money would be spent by Russia. "Our opponents," he declared, "say that they will not let us have those treaties. Very well, so be it. Those opposed to those treaties are opposed to a settlement with Russia and trade with Russia. If the House of Commons will not allow us to make those treaties the House of Commons had better censure us. \* \* \* If we are forced to go, we shall go from the floor of the House of Commons to the public platform." The Labor Government could hardly do otherwise than assume this position of defiance, because resolutions passed at the recent Trades Union Congress as well as the attitude of the Labor Party itself indicated unmistakably that British Labor was determined not to yield in this matter.

Relatively minor incidents which tended to weaken the position of the Government were the widely circulated allegations that its representatives at Geneva had pledged Great Britain to use her Navy to enforce the decisions of the League of Nations, and publication of statements that the Prime Minister had received the gift of a large block of valuable stock from a rich biscuit manufacturer, who later had been included in the list of honors bestowed by the King, upon the recommendation of the Labor Government. The latter accusation was well founded, although the circumstances of the case turned out to be such that no suspicion of evil-doing could permanently rest upon Mr. MacDonald. The donor of the shares, Sir Alexander Grant, was an old and close

friend of the Prime Minister, who wished to ease the bodily and mental strain of his position by presenting him with a motor car and paying for its upkeep, expenses which the Prime Minister was unable to meet out of his salary. The income from the stock was to be used for these purposes, and later the shares themselves were to revert to their original owner. It was generally agreed that Sir Alexander Grant had performed services for the State which very frequently were recognized by knighthood. But although many Englishmen feel that it was shameful that Britain's Prime Minister should be so poorly paid that he could not afford a motor car unless he was a wealthy man (in 1920 a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that the Premier's salary was inadequate and that in recent years no man without private means could sustain the position), yet the incident undoubtedly served to diminish the immense personal prestige of Mr. MacDonald, perhaps the most important political asset of the Labor Government.

More important than the Communist prosecution, the Irish question, the Anglo-Soviet treaty, or any other particular issue was the fundamental cleavage between the Labor Party and the majority of the House of Commons. Labor stood for a new economic and social order in a Socialist State; the Liberals and the Conservatives are opposed to Socialism. Inasmuch as neither of the older parties could itself command a majority of the Commons, both were willing to allow Labor temporarily to bear the crushing burdens which any British Government of this time must carry. It was inevitable, however, that when the Liberals and the Conservatives decided that they might gain some advantage by turning Labor out, or when they feared that Labor might actually put some of its fundamental principles into practice, then the Labor Government would go, and go quickly.

Apparently ex-Premier Stanley Baldwin and the Conservatives felt that the time had come to strike. The Liberals,



on the other hand, evidently were forced to choose between the unwelcome alternative of seeming to condone the withdrawal of the prosecution of the Communist, Campbell, by voting against the motion of censure and aiding in the immediate destruction of the Government. There was little doubt that Mr. Asquith and his friends would have preferred to delay the date of execution and to have gone to the country on the issue of the Anglo-Soviet treaty, which was to have come up for discussion by the Commons in November. Thus Mr. MacDonald, again proving himself to be a master political strategist as well as a hard fighter, enabled his party to enter the electoral contest under what at the time seemed to be the best possible conditions.

Coincidentally with the dramatic censure of the Labor Government at Westminster, the annual national conference of the Labor Party was meeting in another part of London and aligning itself squarely against Communism in England. The application of the Communist Party for affiliation with the Labor Party was defeated by an overwhelming majority, while resolutions excluding Communists from endorsement as candidates for Parliament or for local offices and from membership in the Labor Party, were carried with scarcely any opposition. The Executive Committee declared that the two parties had nothing in common, while Mr. MacDonald urged his followers to "engage against" Communism.

The imperial conference, which was to have been held in London during October for the discussion of imperial cooperation in British foreign policy, was indefinitely postponed. The British press declared that the conference would not be held because Premier Bruce of Australia, after having expressed his willingness to participate, declined later to send Australian representatives.

An informal and secret meeting of Labor representatives from the Dominions with British Labor leaders was recently held in London. Australia, Can-

ada, Northern Ireland, Rhodesia, British Guiana, the British Labor Party Executive Committee, the Trades Union Congress General Council and the Parliamentary Labor Party were represented.

A report recently issued by the Chief Inspector of Mines for Scotland contained some significant figures with reference to coal production in 1923 as compared with 1913. In the last year before the war 47,434,287 tons were mined, but in 1923 production only amounted to 42,112,417 tons. Under the eight-hour act of 1913 the output per person employed was 321 tons. Last year under the seven-hour act it amounted to 282 tons. The decrease in production for last year was the more significant in view of the fact that a considerably larger number of people were employed in the mines, and there was an unprecedented demand for export coal.

The strike of porters at the Covent Garden Market has failed. More than 75 per cent of the strikers returned to their posts at the old wage scale, £4 5s (\$20.45) per week.

## Canada

**PREMIER W. L. MACKENZIE KING** and several members of his Cabinet left on an extensive tour of Western Canada.

The Dominion Government has announced that it intends to seek a reduction of the powers of the Senate by requesting an amendment of the British North America act, the Canadian Constitution.

Twenty thousand members participated in the ninth annual rally and procession of the Archdiocesan Union of the Holy Name Society of Toronto on Oct. 5. Large delegations of visitors were present from all parts of Ontario, and at an impressive meeting the assembled multitude took the Holy Name pledge against "blasphemy, profanity and obscene speech," and in support of all lawful authority, civil and religious.

Miss Margaret Bondfield, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministry of Labor; Mrs. Harrison Bell, Vice President of the Industrial Women's Organizations; G. F. Plant, Secretary to the Overseas Settlement Committee, and W. Garnett, Secretary of the delegation, visited Canada to inquire into the problems of child settlement.

The Trades and Labor Congress, which met at London, Ontario, in September, set forth a program for Canadian labor which included proposals for the eight-hour day, the immediate passage of an unemployment act similar to that in England, the use of public funds for the purpose of employment rather than of charity and the immediate prosecution of Federal and Provincial public works. The Government's immigration policy was criticized and much opposition was expressed to unrestricted immigration from Southern Europe. A Canadian Federation of Women's Labor Leagues was organized with the object of obtaining the eight-hour day and forty-four-hour week, equal wages with men for equal work, higher pay, and compensation in cases of industrial injuries. The problems of nurses and domestic workers and the prevention of the employment of women in harmful occupations were also included among the subjects of concern to the federation.

Judge F. A. Anglin, a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, has been selected to succeed the late Sir Louis Davies as Chief Justice.

Entering Canada on Sept. 22, after his strenuous holiday on Long Island, N. Y., the Prince of Wales proceeded to his Alberta ranch with practically no stops. Later he went on to Vancouver and Victoria, B. C., and then returned to Eastern Canada for a somewhat longer visit.

## India

THE most spectacular and perhaps the most characteristic episodes of the month in India were the three weeks' fast of Mahatma Gandhi in

protest against the constant bloody riots between Hindus and Moslems and the Hindu-Moslem Unity Conference called as a result of the leader's penance. Some 300 representatives of all the religious communities of India met at Delhi in an effort to persuade Gandhi to break his fast, and to reduce friction between the different religions of the country. Resolutions advocating mutual tolerance and decrying violence were passed and a Central Arbitration Board of fifteen members, with Gandhi as Chairman, was established to settle disputes within all the religious communities represented on the board.

Dabila Merwanji Dalal has resigned his office as High Commissioner for India in London. Indian extremist newspapers alleged that his action was taken because he did not receive proper support from the India Office, and on account of the application of pressure to compel him to purchase supplies for India in England regardless of their cost as compared with prices quoted in other countries.

## Australia

THE Commonwealth Parliament has approved the Australia-Canada commercial treaty, which had still to be finally ratified by the Dominion Legislature. The agreement extends the British preference to Canada on fish, textiles, glass, linotype and other printing machines, adding and computing machines, newsprint, printing paper in rolls, writing and typewriting papers. The Australian intermediate tariff is applied to corsets, iron, steel tubes or pipes of specified diameters, galoshes, rubber boots, shoes and plimsolls, automobile chassis and certain vehicle parts. In return Canada offers Australia the British preference on dried fruits, dairy products and certain other items, and the French treaty rates on liquors. From the Canadian standpoint it was expected that fish, gloves and newsprint would be benefited most by the treaty. In presenting the agreement to the Australian House of Representa-



tives Premier Bruce stated that the average annual value of Canadian goods shipped into Australia during the past five years had been £3,600,000, while Australia had exported to Canada only £400,000 worth per annum during that period. Australia's problem, Mr. Bruce declared, was to find a wider market for its primary products with a minimum of disadvantage to its secondary industries. It was hoped that the new tariff preferences with Canada would help to accomplish this end. Increased Australian exports to Canada would have to be chiefly at the expense of American trade with the Dominion, the Premier added.

Reports indicated that the Australian wheat crop would be unusually heavy this year, especially in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia. The year's vintage in South Australia was the greatest on record, amounting to 10,756,000 gallons. The value of the crop was estimated at £806,000, as compared with £865,000 in 1923, the lower price being due to a decline in quality.

Government statistics just published show that industrial disputes within the Commonwealth during 1923 numbered 274, the lowest figures for ten years. The cost of living was recorded as having increased 6.3 per cent., while effective wages had fallen.

A royal commission has been appointed by the Australian Government to inquire into the recent police strike and the general efficiency of the force.

## New Zealand

GENERAL SIR CHARLES FERGUSON has been appointed Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of New Zealand in succession to Admiral of the Fleet Viscount Jellicoe. General Ferguson, who retired from the army in 1922, had a brilliant record of military service in the Egyptian campaigns of 1896-98 and in the World War.

A dominion aviation base at Auckland has been decided upon by the Government as a part of its policy of national defense. A private aircraft fac-

tory there has been purchased for further equipment and operation by the Defense Department.

Reduction in taxation to the amount of £863,000 has been proposed by the Government, the land tax to be 10 per cent. lower, the income tax to be diminished 13 1-3 per cent., and the amusement tax and tobacco duty to be reduced by substantial amounts.

## East African Colonies

A PARLIAMENTARY commission, whose report may be a momentous event in the history of British colonization in Africa, has begun an inquiry into conditions in the five East African dependencies of Northern Rhodesia, Nyassaland, Tanganyika Territory, Uganda and Kenya. Appointed by the Colonial Secretary, J. H. Thomas, the commission consists of three members of the House of Commons and a representative of the Colonial Office, serving under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., Under Secretary for the Colonies in the late Conservative Government. Under the terms of its reference the commission has been instructed to make special inquiries concerning economic questions affecting the rapid development of the territories, including transportation, population, control of human, animal and plant diseases, cotton culture and native and non-native relations.

The Uganda Railway budget for 1925 gave striking evidence of the rapid development which has taken place in these colonies. The estimated revenue was £500,000 more than in 1924, and it was estimated that during the year £900,000 would be available for modernizing the railroad and its feeders.

Sir Francis Newton, Colonial Secretary in the Southern Rhodesia Cabinet, has been appointed the first High Commissioner of this colony in London. Hitherto the Government of Southern Rhodesia had been represented in London by the British South Africa Company, of which the new High Commissioner was Treasurer from 1902 to 1919.

# France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota.

NEWS of the defeat of the MacDonald Cabinet, the dissolution of the British Parliament and the calling of an election produced in France the belief that the Herriot Government would have difficulty in pushing through the MacDonald-Herriot program in the event that a Conservative Government came into power in Great Britain.

As September advanced new evidence was presented that France was slowly escaping from its war-time problems and reverting to those old questions which had perplexed the country prior to 1914. By far the most serious and disturbing of these was the threat of a revival of the ancient struggle between Church and State, provoked this time by the announced intention of the Herriot Ministry to discontinue the French Embassy to the Vatican. This raising of the religious issue was so charged with disquieting factors that it seemed possible that the violent contentions of twenty years back, when Clemenceau and Combes were disestablishing the clergy and canceling the concordat with the Papacy, were about to return.

It was announced on Sept. 22 that "the Herriot Cabinet's budget for 1925 would not contain provisions for a French Embassy to the Vatican." Premier Herriot, it was stated, regarded this as a simpler and less contentious method of suppressing the Vatican Embassy than abolishing it by a special law. In taking this course the Premier was compelled to give heed to the large groups of ultra-radicals making up an essential part of his majority in the Chamber and to whom any favors shown to "clericalism" appeared an outrage. The immediate reactions to the Government's announcement, however, made it clear that the Conservative and Poincarist elements would not fail

to use this issue to full advantage in order to put the Government on the defensive, while from Rome came speedy indications that the Vatican authorities would not take the blow unresistingly. The Rome newspapers on Sept. 23 carried a note alleged to have been directly inspired by the Vatican, containing a bitter criticism of the Herriot policy. It enumerated all the concessions lately made by the papal authorities to promote better relations with France, such as the agreement about diocesan associations and the permission granted to the University of Strasbourg to award diplomas in the canon law. As for the already bitter controversy about the status of the Catholic Church in Alsace (which the Vatican claimed to control under the old Concordat with Germany), the situation was undoubtedly "very delicate," but the Holy See was making every concession in its power. If, however, the Embassy was to be suppressed, "this cannot but cause sorrow to all those in the Vatican who uphold a policy which M. Poincaré has the ability to exploit cleverly to an advantage, but which M. Herriot still refuses to see."

The six Cardinals of France on Sept. 26 followed up this indirect protest from the Holy See with a collective letter to M. Herriot, in which they called his attention to the deep feeling which had been aroused by his policy of suppressing the embassy, as well as by the introduction of education without religious teaching in Alsace-Lorraine (a matter causing keen local resentment) and by his strict application of the existing laws about religious orders. "The Government's measures as projected," declared the letter, "constitute a grave menace to internal peace, justice and liberty; to the interests of the country, and to the respect for



France in the eyes of foreigners." The note further recalled the happy reconciliation of Church and State during the war and the great humanitarian services of the monks and nuns during 1914-18, who now are to be dealt with by "laws of persecution."

M. Herriot on Sept. 27 made a sharp and firm reply to the French Cardinals, denying emphatically that any proposed measures constituted "a grave menace to peace, justice and liberty," and directly warning the Cardinals not to interfere with the Alsace religious problems "which it behooves the people of Alsace and Lorraine to settle direct with the central executive," while as to the monks and nuns he affirmed that "the Government is only carrying out the law dealing with non-authorized congregations."

In the opinion of keen observers in Paris there had arisen a very real danger of "reawakening the old anti-clerical fight which for years had poisoned the political atmosphere of France." The Cardinals received strong support from the Conservative press, the *Journal des Débats*, for example, declaring their letter justified and "in accord with the opinions of a vast majority of Frenchmen." The *Temps* considered that there was some justice in the Cardinals' complaints, but expressed the view that they had gone too far. The anti-clerical and radical press berated the Cardinals vigorously and accused them of "serving the political ends" of Foch and Poincaré, of "wishing to stir up civil war in France" and of "trying to dictate to the Government." It was evident early in October that a storm over the issue of "ecclesiasticism" was brewing.

A ministerial decree of Sept. 21 brought into operation the law of March 21, 1921, imposing a duty on goods imported from Germany. This duty is fixed at 26 per cent. and will be paid to the French customs by the French importer, who will pay only 74 per cent. of the total price of his purchase to the German exporter. A semi-official note explained that the German

Government will refund the 26 per cent. to its own exporters, that this duty will be counted part of the German reparations due to France, that the whole operation is essentially a practical means of transfer, and that it was contemplated in the Dawes scheme and the London agreement. It was estimated that the French Treasury will receive some 250,000,000 francs per annum through this arrangement, which, however, will not apply to coal, dyestuffs and other German goods delivered as reparations in kind. A similar special duty upon German goods was announced at the same time by Belgium.

The Finance Minister, M. Clementel, on Sept. 30 presented the new budget for 1925 to the Finance Committee of the Chamber. The proposed expenditure will be around 32,500,000,000 paper francs (about \$1,800,000,000). On the basis of this year's receipts there would be a deficit of some 6,000,000,000 francs, but the Government intended by special measures to make up the difference. It was stated that M. Poincaré's tax increases (so unpopular and bitterly attacked at the time of the Spring elections) would be retained.

The Herriot Government contends that the budget will be balanced for the first time in ten years. A very earnest effort is to be made to collect from all possible sources of revenue. For example the farmers are to be compelled to pay an income tax on earnings above 21,000 francs. The tax on professional men also (hitherto a very uncertain matter) will be enforced by applying the provision already used in taxing foreigners, namely by calculating the income at seven times the taxpayer's annual rent. There is also to be a tax on the unearned increment in the value of real estate since 1914, and this graduated tax may go as high as 10 per cent. The Government match monopoly, which M. Poincaré had dropped, is to be re-established, not so much, it is said, because large additional revenue is expected, as to please the Socialist elements in the majority sustaining the Ministry. M. Clementel declared that in

all his proposals there was nothing to disturb capital or upset the financial equilibrium, and that this policy of the absolutely balanced budget "marks the end of the policy of raising loans to meet normal charges, a policy which threatens to engulf France in financial quicksands."

Early in October formal negotiations were begun at the Quay d'Orsay for a Franco-German trade treaty. Under the Treaty of Versailles trade regulations between France and Germany were established for a period of five years, expiring in January, 1925, and a new arrangement is therefore urgently necessary. The negotiators for the two sides were reported to have approached their problem in a spirit of good-will and of real determination to reach an agreement. It was stated that the opportunity presented itself for a Franco-German steel combination which could become extremely powerful. If in return for lifting the duty from their Lorraine iron ore the French lifted the duty upon German fuel from the Ruhr, it might be possible to produce steel at a price which would react upon the metal trades of the entire world.

The work of reconstruction in the devastated regions had made notable progress, but a great task was still ahead. It was stated that about 7,000,000,000 francs would be needed for the year 1925. Of this sum 2,400,000,000 francs would be paid by the Government in cash, 200,000,000 francs in German goods and 4,200,000,000 francs in French bonds, which, however, could not be counted at their market value but must be taken at par.

An unusual labor situation has arisen in some parts of France on account of the great number of negroes and Moroccans which the war and its aftermath have brought into the country. Twenty years ago there were about 3,000 Africans in France; there are now nearly 200,000, mostly concentrated near or in Paris. The newspapers have commented humorously or sarcastically at the unwillingness of American visitors to fraternize with the colored

guests at the Parisian cafés, but the situation has now assumed a serious aspect for France, for these outlanders of "color" have now begun to compete with French labor at very reduced wages, awakening keen resentment on the part of the white workmen. Furthermore, these Africans are establishing colonies in which, by reason of their native social and sanitary habits, it is alleged, "they exercised a demoralizing and unwholesome influence" upon the entire district. Evidence abounds that France is face to face with what may prove a very disagreeable color problem, a problem not made easier by the fact that national policy requires that nothing should be done to embitter and alienate the great colored populations in the colonies, on which the military men rely to balance the superior numbers of Germany in case of another life-and-death war.

The Paris Temps has published a series of authoritative articles by M. Gentizon, setting forth how great is the work for civilization that has been accomplished in Syria since the French occupation in 1918. He writes that "instead of a Syria ruined by Turkish and German exactions, by requisitions, deportations, famine, epidemics and disorganization, one sees now a new Syria in which the traveler finds everywhere proofs of organized activity, and of a creative energy developed amid the feeling of absolute security."

Banditry, it is stated, has completely disappeared from the parts of Syria under French control, and in place of the crude roads that previously prevailed there is now a great system of excellent highways. As one evidence of the great change in communications may be cited the single fact that in 1918 there were hardly ten automobiles in the entire country, while now there are 1,800 in the city of Beirut alone. Damascus has received 67,000 meters of good cobble pavement, an excellent street cleaning department and a modern fire department equipped with automobile trucks. It is also stated that the number of French officials has been



cut to a minimum, and that public duties, so far as possible, have been vested in the natives, while a native gendarmerie and a Syrian legion of 6,500 men is being organized so that the local Government can protect itself in any ordinary emergencies without French military assistance. Simultaneously there has been a great improvement in education, the number of pupils in the free public schools having almost doubled since 1921 alone.

Recent statistics show that French commercial air traffic is fast becoming highly standardized. Over the eight main commercial airways there were, during the past year, only six accidents for 2,104,701 miles traveled, and the number of passengers transported increased from 1,171 in 1920 to 11,638 in 1923. French commercial planes are now plying with the regularity of ocean liners, not merely to London and Amsterdam, but to Warsaw, Constantinople and Oran. Such disasters as that which occurred on Oct. 8, when two aviators and eleven airplanes were wrecked in a series of accidents caused by a terrific windstorm, are of rare occurrence.

It was reported on Oct. 8 that the Finance Committee of the Chamber had refused to vote the credits necessary for the return of French convicts from the notorious penal colony at Devil's Island, Cayenne and other points in French Guiana. The Government had asked for 600,000 francs to fulfill Premier Herriot's promise that no more convicts would be sent overseas and that those already deported would be brought back to France.

## Belgium

THE international situation evolved by the acceptance of the Dawes plan and the better hope for the peace of Europe convinced the Belgian Government that it was both safe and practical to take decided measures toward real disarmament. On Aug. 23 it was announced at Brussels that the Belgian military authorities hoped to be able to reduce the term of service

in the army by two months on the completion of the evacuation of Dortmund and the other places provided for in the recent London agreement.

The normal life of the country was seriously interrupted late in August by torrential rains, so severe as to constitute a real disaster to Belgian wheat and oats. The Belgian farmers had already decided that it was unprofitable to put in as much wheat as in former years, and the Minister of Agriculture announced that the sowing had been only one-fourth that of 1922. For 1925, it is evident, Belgium must be more dependent than ever upon foreign grain. The foot and mouth disease also had been plaguing the farmers. In August 143,292 cattle were reported as stricken and also a great number of hogs. The loss from this one factor alone was reckoned at about 50,000,000 francs. On the other hand Belgian industries continued to expand and prosper. The figures for August showed that only 4,934 persons were completely idle and only 16,264 were working on short time. Probably no other highly industrialized country of the same population can make so fair a showing. The steady appreciation of Belgian bonds in the New York commercial market continued to be a barometer of the assured prosperity of the kingdom.

Americans learned with interest that the Belgian Government had, at the strong suggestion of naturalists in this country, decided to establish a large "gorilla sanctuary" around Mount Mikeno in the Belgian Congo. A region of about 250 square miles was thus set aside in which about seventy-five gorillas are to be allowed to exist unmolested except by the friendly visits of scientists anxious to observe their habits. It was stated that the whole number of gorillas in Africa was probably now under 2,000 and that they were being rapidly killed off, sportsmen having discovered that, contrary to common report, the creatures were relatively harmless and easy to slaughter. Provision was to be made in the "sanctuary"

near Mount Mikeno for the maintenance of trees and for other suitable surroundings. The region was to be designated officially as the Albert National Park (Parc National Albert) in honor of King Albert, who had taken an active and personal interest in the project.

One change occurred in the Belgian Cabinet: M. van de Vyvere resigned as Minister of Economic Affairs and was succeeded by M. Moyersoën, a member of the Senate and formerly Minister of Industry and Labor.

Much gratification was voiced in

Belgium over the opinion recently expressed in the authoritative Italian financial journal, the *Revista Bancaria Italiana*, setting forth that, cruelly as Belgium suffered in the war, the work of reconstruction was now practically finished, the finances had been scientifically regulated, and the economic stability of the country firmly restored; in short, "within a few months from now Belgium will have succeeded in re-establishing her finances in a condition comparable to that which existed before the war."

# Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

Professor of History, Columbia University

CHANCELLOR MARX on Oct. 8 communicated to the political parties of Germany certain "outlines for the reform of the Cabinet." These set forth that any party desiring representation in the Government must recognize the inviolability of the Republican Constitution, support the present foreign and domestic policy, help to put the Dawes plan into execution, and promote the efforts of the Reich to enter, on conditions compatible with its economic and political welfare, the League of Nations. The Nationalists and Social Democrats, for whose benefit the proposition was made, accepted the offer "in principle," even if somewhat dubious whether they could work together harmoniously. The Socialists, in particular, wished to be assured that the Nationalists would pledge themselves also to uphold the "laws for the protection of the republic," to which, until recently, they had been opposed.

The "outlines" constituted an answer to a species of ultimatum issued a few days before by the German People's Party, the member of the Coalition Gov-

ernment which in its affiliations stands nearest to the Nationalist organization. This "ultimatum" contained a threat to "reserve liberty of action," unless the People's Party were admitted to seats in the Cabinet. Because the aid of the Nationalists had to be invoked in order to obtain the two-thirds majority requisite for the passage by the Reichstag of the laws for putting the Dawes plan into operation under the terms of the London agreement, Dr. Stresemann, the Foreign Minister and leader of the German People's Party as well, was said to have promised them (the Nationalists) such representation as a reward. The nation on Oct. 9 came a step nearer to dissolution of the Reichstag and to new elections, when Chancellor Marx, after futile conferences with Socialist and Nationalist leaders, announced his Cabinet reform plan to be a failure.

Among items of minor political interest was the trial and conviction of a former army officer on charges of fraud. This individual, it was alleged, had secured authorization from the ex-Kaiser to sell medals and award diplomas to veterans of the war who were



willing to pay for the distinction, even if they did not know what became of their money. The incident gave some impetus to the movement already started against a continuance of the practice of bestowing military orders.

A significant example of the change that has come over German public sentiment since the war is the shift from protection to free trade. At a meeting in Stuttgart two of the most prominent advocates of a high tariff made a complete recantation of their economic faith, averring that arguments to the contrary ignored the actual facts with which the material life of the country was confronted. One of the facts was the loss since August, 1923, of 86,000 net tons of shipping arrivals at Hamburg and 91,000 at Bremen.

The foreign relations of Germany have been less agitated than its domestic situation. After resuming on Sept. 8 its visits of inspection the Allied Military Control Commission encountered no difficulty in its examination of the district headquarters of the army and the police, the arsenals and the factories in which war materials were once manufactured. Economic evacuation by the French of German territory in the Ruhr Valley and elsewhere, moreover, progressed quite rapidly. The customs barrier which the French had erected between the Ruhr and unoccupied Germany was abolished; so also were passports. The French authorities in the Rhineland and the Ruhr were applying the measures of amnesty provided for in the London agreement. All Germans expelled from those areas were notified that they might return; arrangements were in progress for the reinstatement of officials discharged or suspended, and legal proceedings against hundreds of other persons were dropped and many fines remitted.

The only rift in the outward relations between the two nations was that caused by the protest of Germany, on Sept. 26, against the imposition by France of a tax of 26 per cent. on all importations from Germany. The Government of the Reich asserted that it

was ready to cooperate in collecting the levy for the transition period, on condition that "the Agent General for Reparation Payments would guarantee that Germany be credited with the estimated monthly yield of the levy, thus insuring to that country a refund of the disbursements and a certain percentage of the costs of administration." Otherwise, it declared, the measure would interfere with the working of the Dawes plan, on the ground that since the German Government, if called upon to reimburse German exporters for the amount of the tax, would be less able to meet the payments due on account of reparations and that the action taken would complicate trade relations between the two countries. In reply the French Government stated that, although the amounts collected would be deducted from payments owed to the German exporters, they would be placed to Germany's credit on the reparations account. It declared also that the transaction would solve in part the problem of the transfer of reparations payments from marks into foreign exchanges.

Negotiations carried on at Berlin between Great Britain and Germany during the latter part of September broke down in the face of inability to discover a common basis of accord. The chief difficulty was the German refusal to grant the favors demanded in respect of exemption from taxation of British exports to Germany, upon which the tariff schedules now in course of preparation levy almost prohibitive duties.

Within the zones of allied occupation two incidents threw light upon the consequences of a prolongation on German soil of foreign military control. A German resident of Cologne was fined \$50 by a British court for having in his possession and operating a radio set—an offense not permissible under the terms of the treaty of peace! Within the French zone a court-martial inflicted both fine and imprisonment for conduct of the sort. The population of the Rhineland naturally resents so stupid and obsolete a restriction in an age when radio sets elsewhere in the world

have become as common and as harmless as phonographs.

A much more justifiable punishment was meted out by a British Court at Cologne in the case of a German belonging to the "Steel Helmet League" (Stahlhelm Bund), an ultra-Nationalist military organization forbidden in the occupied zones. Documents found at the time showed that even though it had been proposed to change the name to "The Social League of the Faithful Parliament" the aims of the body were highly reactionary, including substantially the following: (1) The membership to comprise ex-soldiers who would form a defensive organization against the external and internal forces which threatened Germany; (2) only Germans of Aryan blood would be accepted; (3) military order, discipline and punctuality to be maintained at all costs; (4) the restoration of all lost territories and the re-establishment of the status obtaining before August, 1914; (5) all reparations to be refused and the Dawes plan repudiated until the last soldier of the armies of occupation had left Germany; (6) the "war-guilt lie" (kriegsschuldlüge) to be refuted.

Regarding the fourth of these objects, a colonial congress—the first of its kind since 1910—held at the University of Berlin on Sept. 17, voiced the ultra-Nationalist demand that Germany's colonies lost through the war be given back. Declaring that the "old flag must fly again over the old ground" and, paraphrasing a line from "Rule Britannia," that "Germans never shall or can be slaves," the speakers expressed the opinion that the national independence of the Fatherland could not be recovered unless and until the former dependencies were reunited with it.

In one respect, at least, all Germans appeared to have agreed: in cheering everywhere the trial flights over the country of the ZR-3, the giant Zeppelin airship which, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, was to sail across the ocean and to be delivered to the United States; this project, easily the

most interesting of the month to native Germany, took a move forward on Oct. 8, when clearance papers were issued at Friedrichshafen. The ZR-3 began its flight on Oct. 12. Simultaneously with the completion of plans for its departure, the Zeppelin Company announced in Berlin on Oct. 7 that plans were under way for a worldwide airship service. This project, it was stated, would link Europe, America, Asia and Africa; details, however, were withheld pending completion of plans.

The Twenty-third World Peace Congress opened in Berlin on Oct. 6. The failure of the German Government to take any official cognizance of the session was interpreted as a slight and considerably marred the opening session. A telegram of protest was sent to Chancellor Marx; observers, however, felt that the absence of Government representatives was due to a misunderstanding rather than to antagonism. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen made one of the most important addresses of the Congress; he eloquently urged immediate steps by Germany to enter the League of Nations.

Late in September a break of about 25 per cent. in the open-market value of German war-loan bonds reduced sharply the paper profits of thousands of speculators in these securities and entailed severe losses upon most of their recent purchasers. Germans were the principal sufferers, in spite of repeated denials hitherto made by the German Government that it contemplated entering upon any scheme for revaluing the bonds before reparations had been paid. The only possible exception that it had in mind would be that in favor of Germans who had bought the bonds during the war and had become pauperized as a result of their decline.

In compliance with the London Agreement, on Sept. 1 Germany turned over to the Agent General the initial payment of 20,000,000 gold marks (\$5,000,000) due on account of reparations. At the end of the same month it paid in the October instalment of 14,000,000 gold marks.



A resolution adopted by the German Association for the Combating of Alcoholism at Berlin late in September evinced strong disapproval of the rum-running practiced on an increasing scale from Germany. Shipping interests were urged to help eliminate the traffic and the Governments of the world to suppress it by international action. The association advocated the adoption of measures to discourage the use of intoxicants by soldiers. It also called upon the newspapers to publish fair accounts of the progress of prohibition in foreign lands. Stimulus to these pleas was imparted by the circumstance that certain officials had recently been arrested for defrauding the Government spirit monopoly. They had sold alcohol to an individual of high social connections and engaged in the manufacture of liquor at the low price charged for its use in medicine and industry, instead of the high rate exacted for the production of beverages.

## Austria

**F**OLLOWING a series of collapses of more or less important financial institutions, chief among which was the Depositen Bank, came the news late in September that Camillo Castiglioni, an Italian reputed to be the richest man in Austria, had gone bankrupt and fled the country. The crash was the natural consequence of the artificial prosperity that accompanied the inflation and speculation prevalent during the last two years. In it Castiglioni figured as the moving spirit of evil. The scandal carried along with it all of the phenomena of post-war financial disasters—suicides, secret doors in banks, rooms for “listening in,” stolen documents and official investigations.

Early in September 60,000 metal

workers in and around Vienna went on strike for higher wages, payment for overtime and a definite guarantee that the eight-hour day should continue. The employers on the part indicated their willingness to raise wages in case the costs of production were not thereby increased. This was interpreted as a demand upon the Federal and municipal Governments for a reduction in taxation. Eventually the workers had to content themselves with a small increase in pay.

The matter of taxation is a perennial source of contention between the Federal Government and the municipality of Vienna, the centre of wealth in the country. According to the Constitution the capital city is a province by itself. Vienna happens also to be controlled politically by the Social Democrats, who through heavy taxation upon every one except the members of the working class manage to provide quite abundantly for municipal, if not also for party, needs, while the rest of Austria, in comparison, has to practice rigid economy. A report for the fiscal year, published on Oct. 2, showed that instead of an expected deficit the city Administration had at its disposal a surplus amounting to upward of \$9,000,000.

Political interest during the month centred upon the visit to Vienna of M. Bratiano, Rumanian Premier. The trip was declared by M. Bratiano to be wholly unofficial; “I have come on a mission of peace,” he added. Observers, however, interpreted the visit as a significant move toward closer relations between the two nations. The Rumanian Premier held numerous conferences with the foremost Austrian statesmen. He was honored by President Hainisch, and was the recipient of many expressions of welcome from other representative Austrians.

---

# Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Latin, Vassar College

AGAIN Italy has been shaken by the murder of a member of the Chamber of Deputies. This time it was a Fascista, Armando Casalini, who was shot in Rome on Sept. 12, on entering a tramcar in company with his young daughter. He was taken to a neighboring hospital, seriously wounded, and died soon afterward from his wounds. The murderer was Giovanni Corvi, a workman to whom Casalini had several times given help. Corvi carried a photograph of Matteotti, and declared that he had killed Casalini "because he killed my brother Matteotti." Corvi did not admit any connection with a political party and no evidence of such connection subsequently came to light. He seemed to be a man of weak mentality. Several men were arrested on the charge of inciting him. The murder gave an opportunity for more violence of the sort that has been common in Italy of late, and Mussolini exercised great energy in attempting to prevent outbreaks. The Fascist Party published a manifesto urging the Fascisti to be calm and attempt no reprisals. After Casalini's funeral, which was attended by imposing Fascist ceremonies, Mussolini, fearing that there might be disturbances, postponed the Fascist reunions which were to have taken place all over Italy on Sept. 21. Except in a few places Mussolini was successful in his efforts to check violence and his moderating influence received acknowledgment even in the Opposition press.

Though the murder of Casalini had little effect on the situation one way or the other, acts of violence continued to be reported from various sections of Italy. After the opposition of Fascismo to the Masons was declared, Masonic lodges in a number of towns of Italy had been sacked and burned by Fascisti, and, according to a statement made by the Grand Master of the Ma-

sons to the Government, there had been no punishment and no redress for the losses. In Rome, it was charged, a Fascist Deputy had led the attack on the lodge. Catholic workmen's clubs had also continued to be sacked and burned, and the offices of various Opposition newspapers were the object of hostile attacks. Farinacci, the Fascist "ras" of Cremona, continued his vituperations of the Opposition. Despite Mussolini's plea for moderation after Casalini's murder, Farinacci in the Cremona newspaper *Nuova* demanded the arrest of the leaders of the Opposition and of the directors of the hostile newspapers, and urged the use of machine guns in case of need. Farinacci was recently wounded in the arm in a duel fought with Prince Pignatello, who attacked Farinacci's war record and protested against his prominence in all gatherings of the Italian arditi.

A complete break between the Fascisti and the Liberals who supported Mussolini at the Spring election seemed to be imminent when these pages went to press. Though the Liberals had refrained from joining the other Opposition parties which were acting together, and though Liberal Ministers were still in Mussolini's Cabinet, the chief Liberal organ, the *Giornale d'Italia*, continued to be as vigorous a critic of Mussolini as any Opposition paper. The Premier's efforts at conciliation were greeted by constant comments on the wide divergence between his words, on the one hand, and the words and acts of his henchmen, on the other. For some time all Italy had been looking forward to the results of the National Congress of the Liberal Party, which took place at Leghorn (Oct. 5-7). That Mussolini himself felt some concern over the outcome of the Congress was evident from his speech in Milan on Oct. 5. The conference, the function



of which was, in the words of the *Giornale d'Italia*, "to give the country a realization that there really is a stabilizing force in Italy," had among its delegates two extreme factions, one of which wished to continue the association with Fascism, while the other desired to express lack of confidence in the Government. The second group was, on the whole, the more powerful in the Congress, though the extremists, who wished to denounce Fascismo outright, were not successful in carrying their point. Though the question of whether the Liberals would collaborate with the Fascisti in the future was left uncertain, the final resolution clearly indicated opposition to Fascismo. It expressed sympathy with the resolution passed by the war veterans at Assisi in August, a resolution that Mussolini had repeatedly condemned. It further made a plea for the abolition of the Fascist militia. All in all, the resolution indicated a more complete rupture between Liberals and Fascisti than had hitherto taken place, and it was a question whether the Liberal Ministers would remain in the Cabinet. Though the action of the Congress was perhaps the most serious blow which Mussolini had so far received, his official organ, the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, on Oct. 8, editorially defied the Liberals and bluntly scorned to consider their demands.

The other Opposition parties continued to act in unison and held a number of meetings in which they reiterated their determination not to return to Parliament until Mussolini dissolved his militia. This Mussolini repeatedly refused to do. The reorganization of the militia, technically making membership open to all, had not, the Opposition declared, really changed the character of the body, which was still made up entirely of Fascist volunteers. The reopening of Parliament was scheduled for Nov. 15.

For a time it looked as if the Socialists and the Popular or Catholic Party, the two largest groups in the Opposition, would unite. Before the advent of Fascism these two parties had for sev-

eral years a majority of the Deputies and a union between them long seemed imminent. Though by the new election system they did not hold a majority, they possessed larger elements of strength than other parties. But the Vatican made known its opposition to any union between the two groups. The *Osservatore Romano*, the official Vatican organ, on Sept. 4 published an article bidding the Popular Party choose between socialism and Catholicism. There were similar articles in other Catholic papers and notably a detailed discussion in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of the incompatibility between socialism and Christianity. The Pope, in a speech to the students of the Catholic University Federation, on Sept. 9, made it clear that the Holy See was opposed to a union between Catholics and Socialists. A subsequent manifesto of the Popular Party declared that the party would remain within the Opposition group and that it was opposed to any "Bolshevist experiments." The recently declared opposition of the Fascisti to the Masons, whose anticlerical activities in Italy were well known, was thought to have rendered the Church more ready to cooperate with the present Government.

The decree granting the Government censorship over the press continued to be exercised from time to time, though usually not against the important papers of the constitutional Opposition, which enormously increased their circulation throughout Italy. They continued their attacks on Mussolini with no interference from the local prefects who had charge of the sequestration of newspapers. One issue of the *Stampa* of Turin, however, was confiscated because of an article which declared that there was a great moral gulf between Fascism and the Italian people. The congress of Italian jurists who met in Turin, after a stormy debate which led the Fascist representatives to withdraw, passed a resolution in favor of unconditional liberty of the press.

Sept. 20, anniversary of Garibaldi's entry into Rome in 1870 and the great

Italian national holiday, was celebrated by elaborate ceremonies in Rome and throughout Italy. Mussolini took the occasion to announce the appointment of fifty-three new Senators. The list included Facta, the Prime Minister who had to resign at the time of the Fascist march on Rome in November, 1922; the composer Puccini, the poet Salvatore di Giacomo, the hydraulic engineer Luigi Luiggi, who was at the time in America, where he was given an honorary degree at the centennial celebration of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. The Senate was thus greatly increased in membership, a circumstance which it was feared might lead to a diminution in the importance of the body. On the other hand, it was noteworthy that the new list was not made up in any large numbers of Fascisti. Though there were many who were in general favorable to Fascism, only thirteen of the fifty-three were actually enrolled in the party.

A recent decree issued by the Government, a measure in favor of the vine growers, one of the chief agricultural groups of Italy, removed the tax on wine and provided special rates for the transport of wine. Another decree arranged that the losses to the Treasury caused by the removal of this tax would be made up by an increase of taxes on sugar and coffee, both already heavily taxed in Italy. This decree was attacked because, while giving relief to the vine growers, it weighed heavily on all the people. The Opposition papers also pointed out that Mussolini's full powers had expired and that he had given a definite promise to cease governing by royal decrees. The issuance of the royal decree, originally a war measure, was common in the Ministries that held office in the period of Parliamentary disorder that followed the war, even though no grant of special powers was made to them, and Mussolini had good precedent among his predecessors for the use of such decrees. The most probable reason why he did not keep his promise to cease using them was that after Matteotti's murder it

seemed expedient not to reconvene Parliament too soon.

False reports of riots in Rome in August were followed by reports in early September that Mussolini was about to resign and that an attempt had been made against his life. These ungrounded reports led to a panic in the Stock Exchange in Rome and a fall in various Government securities. An investigation of the origin of rumors traced the report that Mussolini was to resign to Olindo Fontani, Director of the Bank of Max Bondi in Rome. Fontani was arrested and a more thorough investigation was ordered.

A treaty providing for the settlement of future disputes between Italy and Switzerland by arbitration was signed at Rome by the representative of the two nations on Sept. 20. The treaty was enthusiastically received both by the present Government's supporters and its opponents, who saw in it a step of great importance for the future peace of Europe. The treaty provided that every issue that came up between the two nations should be submitted to a permanent conciliation committee, and that any questions on which the decision of the Permanent Court of The be accepted would be referred for final decision to the Permanent Court of the Hague.

It was announced that, though Prince Caetani, Italian Ambassador to the United States, had resigned his post, he would return to the United States to continue his duties until the end of the year. The reason given for his resignation was the desire, which he had frequently expressed, to devote himself to matters of land improvement, to the administration of his estate and to studies from which public affairs had diverted his attention for some years.

The great hope aroused in the world of scholarship by the circulation of the report that the lost works of Livy had been found was shattered by the official report of the commission appointed to investigate the subject. The reputed discoverer, Dr. di Martino Fusco, who



had inspired confidence because of his reputation as a scholar, failed at first to obey the summons to appear before the commission, and when he finally came he hedged and contradicted himself. In the end he signed a statement "fully acknowledging his own mistakes and denying all his former statements concerning the existence of unedited Livy codices in Naples."

At Leptis Magna in Tripoli, the native city of the Emperor Septimius Severus, Italian excavators began to uncover extensive remains of a splendid city.

The Official Gazette recently published the result of the last census, in which it appeared that, calculating the

increase which had taken place since the census of December, 1921, the population of the kingdom now was 39,900,000 actual residents. It was stated that the total would be about 41,000,000 if those temporarily resident abroad were included.

Plans for the celebration of Holy Year, to be held in 1925, were further advanced. The dome of St. Peter's, which an American architect had declared unsafe, was pronounced safe by a commission appointed to investigate it. There was great building activity in Rome, where additional housing was needed to receive the enormous number of pilgrims who were expected to visit the city.

## Russia and the Baltic States

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH

Professor, Yale University

A HEAVY gale which swept the Gulf of Finland on Sept. 23 caused one of the worst floods in the history of Leningrad and resulted in heavy damage to property and some loss of life. As in the celebrated flood of a century ago, immortalized by the national poet Pushkin in one of his masterpieces, the waters of the gulf, driven by the force of the wind into the mouth of the River Neva, reversed the flow of the water, with the result that the level of the river rose many feet and the water, spilling over the granite embankment, inundated the city. In the great arterial canal system which intersects the city the water rose more than ten feet. Many sections of the city were completely isolated. The electric power failed and the horror of darkness was added to the suffering of the stricken population. The square in front of the Winter Palace was turned into a lake, the big Mariinsky Opera House was completely inundated, many roofs were carried away and trees uprooted by

the cyclonic fury of the wind. Telegraphic and telephonic communication with Moscow was suspended. Many museums sustained damage. The Museum of Alexander III. suffered most. Valuable paintings, ethnographical collections, rare tapestries and other articles which were stored on the lower floors and in the basement were damaged. Two hundred and fifty cases of antiques had been picked out of the flood, but fifty more cases were still soaking in water two days later. The Academy of Science had thirty salons submerged and many of its laboratories were ruined. The Zoological and Botanical Museums were also damaged. Martial law was declared by the Soviet executives of the city. Soldiers, militia and firemen were mobilized to maintain order and to carry on relief work. After thirty-six hours of confusion and suffering, order was finally restored and real relief work begun.

The flood took the population by surprise. The meteorological station had

no indications on the morning of Sept. 23 that a cyclone was approaching. Later the station issued a warning that the water might rise five feet. When the gale began, the Fortress of St. Peter fired several cannon shots to warn the people of the approaching danger. At noon the lower portions of the city were under water and later in the day three-quarters of the city was inundated. People in the streets were overtaken by the water, those in offices were marooned and unable to go home. Many fires broke out due to electrical short circuits. On the outskirts of the city many expensive machines in factories were damaged. An explosion of powder in the physico-chemical laboratory of the university wrecked a portion of the building. A million and a half square feet of wooden paving blocks in streets of the central portion of the city were torn up and washed away by the water. An outbreak of typhus fever added to the horrors. More than a hundred cases daily were registered. The flood entered the cemeteries and washed away newly made graves, causing coffins and bodies to float. Ten deaths and twenty casualties were reported and others remained unregistered.

All Summer resorts along the Finnish Coast were submerged. Especially Peterhof sustained great damage, but Oranienbaum and Tsarskoe Selo were also damaged. At Kronstadt ten lives were lost. Much of the furniture in the Grand Palace at Peterhof was washed away, the beautiful marble terrace and balustrade built by Peter the Great were demolished and over 800 trees were uprooted in the old Imperial Park.

The Government of Leningrad appealed to Moscow for 6,000,000 pounds of flour. The State Bank declared a moratorium for all clients who had suffered losses. The Moscow Soviet assigned \$50,000 for relief work among the laboring classes. The Trade Union Council appealed to union members for voluntary contributions and the press opened subscriptions for funds. The Council of Commissars appointed a special commis-

sion, including President Kalinin, Kamenev and Zinoviev, to ascertain the total property loss, which ran into the millions, and the sums necessary for relief work. The city was divided into sections and the authorities were ordered to complete all the work in time for the celebration of the next anniversary of the revolution.

A correspondent of The London Times printed recently an unflattering picture of conditions in Moscow as he had found them. The two most conspicuous features were numbers of mutilated beggars and "blatant and perpetual propaganda which assails the eyes on every side." Bourgeois tenants had been voted out of their domiciles by the house committees and Communists allowed to occupy their rooms. In one house with 170 residents 150 names were thus removed, and in another with 120 residents not one educated person was left on the register. Yet the feeling of hatred for everything Bolshevik seems to remain unabated. The Great Cathedral of the Saviour remained closed, but at Easter it was hard to find standing room in any of the churches.

Lynching by anti-Soviet forces of factory and village workers who maintained an espionage service for the Moscow Government continued through the month under review; so general was the slaughter that the Government on Oct. 8 was reported to have granted pensions to the widows and children of the murdered agents. Meanwhile, demonstrations against the Government developed in many parts of the country. During October bands of outlaws raided innumerable towns, torturing and slaying Communists wherever they were found.

It was reported that the Georgian revolt had spread to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan. According to dispatches from Berlin it had even reached Southern Russia, where disturbances had been reported from Odessa and Sebastopol. Toward the middle of September the Red General Staff poured 60,000 troops into the Caucasus. A force of some 20,000 to 30,000 rebels had entrenched themselves in the mountains,



near the northern frontier of Georgia; and another force, about 5,000 strong, had reached the port and railhead of Poti, after defeating Bolshevik forces at Soukhum, while a Bolshevik column was marching north from Batum against the insurgents. Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, had been taken by the Bolsheviks on Sept. 17, after heavy fighting. About 600 leading citizens were executed and hundreds of others imprisoned. Service on the Constantinople-Tiflis-Moscow Railway line, which had been interrupted for three weeks by the uprising, was resumed. Quantities of airplanes, armored cars and troops were landed at Batum, and General Budenny took charge of the offensive.

Telegrams received through an underground service of the Georgian Independence Committee described the brutal methods by which the force of 20,000 rebels under command of Colonel Tcholkachvili was driven into the inaccessible dales of Mount Elbros. This leader had been carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Bolsheviks since March 21. The Red General Staff telegraphed from Moscow that he and his forces must be crushed at any cost. On the slopes of Svanethie Province the Red Army burned all the villages and massacred many inhabitants, while others were deported to Siberia. Colonel Tcholkachvili's men held the Red Army back for many days and all attempts to destroy the insurgents were unavailing. Finally an order was sent from Moscow to use all women, girls and children captured in the villages as shields for the Red columns. Concentrated in one big camp near the town of Oni, formed into companies and assigned to different columns, many of these victims were killed by battery fire.

Middle Asia is being politically regrouped by Soviet Russia. It has been decided to establish two republics. The Usbekian Republic will comprise the greater part of Bokhara and the districts of Samarkand, Fergana and Syrdaria. The Turkmenian Republic will include the districts of Turkestan and part of Bokhara. Khiva will be an autonomous region, Tadjik, formed by the moun-

tainous part of Samarkand and West Pamir, and affiliated with the Usbekian Republic. Another autonomous region, Kharakirgisian, connected with the Turkmenian Republic, comprises East Pamir and the District of Djetouysk.

According to a recent decree of the Soviet Government, separate elections are to be held in localities where national minorities predominate; such minorities are to elect their own Soviets. Under this decree the first two Jewish Soviets were elected in the village Sloboda Davidovka in the district of Mozyr, and in the agricultural colony Kormi in the district of Mogilev.

Official figures collected by the Ukraine Government Committee, which investigated the loss of life and property caused by the civil war and by foreign intervention, show that during that time 1,235 pogroms occurred in the Ukraine, 70,000 Jews were killed, over 500,000 driven from their homes and 200,000 children rendered orphans. A great number of houses were demolished, while a number of small towns and villages were completely destroyed. More than 75 per cent. of the total Jewish population of the Ukraine are unable to earn their daily bread.

A scientific expedition to Mongolia under the leadership of Professor Peter Koslov, reports the discovery of many skeletons of extinct animals new to science. In one of the royal tombs Professor Koslov found bricks of compressed tea and grains of wheat still fit for human consumption despite the fact that they had lain in the tombs many thousands of years. In another section of the same district Professor Koslov found in the tomb of a woman of noble rank silk tapestries of superb texture, depicting Greek and Roman figures on horseback.

According to a statement made by Minister of Commerce Kamenev, transmitted on Sept. 26 by the Acting Commercial Attaché, C. J. Manier of Riga, exportation of grain from Russia had been suspended. The W. A. Harriman Company, Inc., of New York, had been granted a monopoly of exportation of manganese from Russia. The chief de-

posits are in the Chicatouri district of Georgia.

The Soviet press announced the decision of Bishop Ashot of the Armenian Orthodox Church to form an Armenian branch of the Living Church of Russia.

## Finland

**F**INLAND'S export trade in July amounted to \$18,390,000, according to a cabled statement of the Assistant Trade Commissioner Kekich, while imports were valued at \$10,310,000. The total sales of timber up to Aug. 1 were estimated at 1,247,400,000 board feet. Prices, however, were unsatisfactory, and sawmillers planned to reduce the 1925 production by at least 25 per cent. Arrangements had been concluded between the Bank of Finland and a group of American banks for short-term credits amounting to approximately \$10,000,000, to be used in financing Finnish paper and timber exports. The rate of interest was fixed at 5 per cent.

## Esthonia

**A** SPECIAL session of the Esthonian State Assembly was summoned on Aug. 19 in order to discuss the economic situation, the question of stabilization of the mark and plans to combat the rise in the cost of living. The session was short and animated. The Agrarians attacked the Government for its financial policy, to which they attributed the temporary fall in the price of the mark. The Government explained its policy, promised to revise to a certain extent the customs tariff and to take measures to reduce the cost of living. The policy of the Government was approved by the Assembly. The foreign trade of Esthonia marked a decisive advance during the first half of 1924, according to figures made public Oct. 1 by the Consular Department; the total value of exports for the first half of this year was announced to be 500,000,000 marks in excess of the same period in 1923. The improvement had stimulated trade throughout the country and proved especially beneficial in restoring confidence in agricultural regions.

## Latvia

**A** LAW regulating the liquidation of former Russian joint stock companies which operated on Latvian territory prior to Nov. 18, 1918, was passed by the Cabinet of Ministers. The law provided that "if said companies have not, within six months from the date this law becomes effective, re-elected in the manner provided for by the by-laws or special Latvian laws, their administrative bodies, and have not resumed their activities in Latvia, with the consent of the Minister of Finance, they shall be liquidated."

The Budget law for 1924-25, which was recently published, showed allowances for State expenditures to the amount of 193,726,975 lats fully covered by State income.

The Latvian-American Chamber of Commerce at Chicago was reorganized and renamed Latvian-Esthonian Chamber of Commerce of America.

## Lithuania

**T**HE problem of Vilna continued to present serious matter for discussion in Baltic papers. A Latvian daily, *Latvijas Sargs*, printed an article in which it said: "Vilna is a vital question for Lithuania. No Kaunas Government will renounce its rights to this region, since to do so would be equivalent to a national betrayal. Thus Vilna becomes an object of future Lithuanian conflict." The Lithuanian statesmen felt that the relations of their country with Poland could be regulated only after settlement of the Vilna question. On Sept. 2 the Sixth Political Committee of the League of Nations appointed a special subcommittee of seven for consideration of the Vilna question. On Sept. 9 Mr. Galvanuskas, the Lithuanian representative, addressed the Council of the League of Nations and expressed the hope that the League would again examine the Vilna question and find a method of eliminating all causes of conflict which still remain in the Niemen basin.



# Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

## Bulgaria

**A** LONG-BREWING conflict within the ranks of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization bore fruit, during the month under review, in a series of assassinations hardly paralleled in the history of even the Balkan States. The objective of the organization is the liberation of Macedonian territory, from Bulgaria and Greece particularly, and the erection of an autonomous Macedonian State: and, as might be expected, the plan had been encouraged and abetted by agents of Soviet Russia. On the question of whether to accept Soviet aid and work hand in hand with Moscow, the Central Committee had been sharply divided. Todor Alexandroff opposed entering into such a relationship; and when a Bolshevik organ published in Vienna—*La Fédération Balkanique*—announced that the Macedonian chiefs had signed a manifesto strongly supporting the purpose of Moscow to compass the overthrow of all existing Balkan Governments, he promptly denied that he had signed, or would sign, any such document. In this he was joined by another principal leader, Protogueroff.

It was announced at Sofia on Sept. 15 that Alexandroff had been slain by two of his followers of Bolshevik sympathies; and almost immediately it became known that vengeance had been wrought in the murder, by the slain chieftain's supporters, of three leading members of the organization's Bolshevik wing—Aleco Pasha, who was believed to have been the immediate instigator of Alexandroff's death, together with Deputy Hadjenoff and Magistrate Kovatcheff. Before the impressive funeral of the anti-Bolshevist leader

took place, similar vengeance fell upon at least five more of the opposing faction.

Both elements were under the ban of the Government; and though the authorities regretted the murders, they considered that the affair served to reveal the extent and character of Bolshevik machinations in the country and to vindicate the repressive policy which the Tsankoff Ministry had pursued.

Referring to reports of civil war in Bulgaria published abroad, the Minister of the Interior, M. Russeff, declared on Sept. 22 that they were false and were spread by hostile propagandists. The country in general, he asserted, was never more tranquil. "The only disturbances are criminal attempts by bands of organized Communists and Agrarians to embarrass the Government, but we are dealing with them satisfactorily." The Communist press was suppressed in August.

The Sofia Government on Sept. 29 requested the League of Nations to appoint agents to supervise the treatment of the Greek minorities resident on Bulgarian soil. The proposal was considered somewhat extraordinary for the reason that no such arrangement was called for, or contemplated, by the Treaty of Neuilly. Greece, on her part, followed suit; and the same League of Nations representatives will keep Geneva informed as to how Greece is treating Bulgarians living on Grecian soil. Inasmuch as Bulgaria hopes to secure from the powers which are chiefly influential in the League a number of dispensations easing her situation—especially in respect to restrictions upon her armed forces—observers were inclined to believe that this request had such relief in view.

## Czechoslovakia

ACCORDING to advices received in New York toward the middle of September the Government of Czechoslovakia was considering the advisability of seeking a new loan in the American market. The proceeds would be used, not for foreign exchange or currency requirements—for these were in a satisfactory condition—but for national improvements of various kinds. Bankers who had handled past business for Czechoslovakia said that though they had not been approached on the subject no difficulty would be encountered, since the developments of the last five years had inspired general confidence in the republic's capacity and stability. The exchange value of the crown, expressed in terms of American currency, has fluctuated during the past year through a range of only one-fourth of a cent.

The journal *Vorwärts* has published a letter by Mr. Habrman, the Czechoslovak Minister of Social Welfare, in which he said that, speaking generally, the law fixing an eight-hour working day had been put into operation without difficulty and was adhered to by industry. He reported also that the introduction of the shorter working day had been accompanied by a decrease in the consumption of alcoholic liquors and an increase in the membership of gymnastic and cultural societies. The movement in Germany, however, looking to a lengthening of the working day had produced some uncertainty in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries; and in order to procure a free discussion of the situation the International Association for the Protection of the Rights of Workers arranged for a congress of social workers and political leaders at Prague beginning on Oct. 2. An especially numerous delegation of German social workers attended; and the United States was represented by John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American section of the International Association for the Protection of Labor.

Dr. Benès, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave an interview during September to the Geneva correspondent of the Berlin Sozialdemokratische Parlamentsdienst. In discussing the admission of Germany to full membership in the League of Nations Dr. Benès said it was most important that the League be completely representative of European nations, and he added: "It is therefore necessary that Germany be admitted. I can see no serious obstacle to such a step on the part of the League."

## Greece

NOTWITHSTANDING the resignation of the Sophoulis Ministry on Oct. 1, reports from authoritative sources, both Greek and non-Greek, indicated that the outlook for political stability and economic recovery was excellent. M. Jean Koundouriotis, brother of the President of the republic and Chairman of the Directors of the Bank of Athens, lately visited New York and Washington and gave President Coolidge, Secretary Hughes and the press ample accounts of the situation in his country; and these were confirmed in interesting fashion by Henry Morgenthau, recently returned from his labors as Chairman of the Refugee Settlement Commission. Both gentlemen agreed that the republic was securely established; that the country was at the beginning of permanent parliamentary government; that there was no danger of a dictatorship, either of the Right or of the Left; and that, though the health of Venizelos would not permit of his return to power, the entire original Venizelos following still adhered to his ideas and would never turn from them.

The country's main need in the future will be large loans—at least \$100,000,000—with which to finance modern industrial projects and to provide employment for more than 1,000,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor who poured into Greece as a result of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Among industrial devel-



opment of especial interest was the up-building among the transplanted Asia Minor population of rug and carpet manufacturing, for which the Greeks of Asia Minor have long been noted. Since the United States is the world's greatest rug and carpet market, trade with this country was expected to be increased several fold.

A report of the Greek Refugee Commission covering its work to the end of August stated that up to this date £2,000,000 had been advanced by the Bank of England and £1,000,000 by the Greek Government. The League of Nations had undertaken to arrange a loan of £6,000,000, in all, for the work, and on Sept. 18 it was announced that this would be increased to £10,000,000, of which amount one-quarter would be taken by Greece herself. Administration of the enlarged fund will be in the hands of a committee nominated by Mr. Morgenthau, but appointed by and responsible to the League.

## Hungary

CONSIDERABLE interest was aroused throughout central Europe by the signing of a Russo-Hungarian treaty on Sept. 16. Political circles interpreted the agreement as a deliberate alignment of the Soviets with Hungary against Rumania, and also as a blow at the Little Entente. In some quarters it was believed that Germany encouraged the treaty, with a view to strengthening the bloc of States not members of the League, though this opinion was somewhat discounted by Berlin's subsequent move in the direction of League membership. The conservative Hungarian press voiced the apprehension that the establishment of a Soviet Legation in Budapest would start a new wave of propaganda, and even bring back the Communist dictator, Bela Kun, who since his exile has occupied various positions of importance under the Moscow Government. The papers of the Left, on the other hand, hailed the treaty as foretoking a more liberal era and demanded that the Government abandon

all surviving measures and devices of the counter-revolution.

That the Budapest authorities were not inclined to relax overmuch was indicated by the announcement on Sept. 18 that the trial of the leaders of the Hungarian radical and Socialist emigrants for high treason would begin at Budapest about Nov. 15. Those indicted included Count Károlyi, "President of the Hungarian Republic"; members of his "Government," Oscar Jászi, Paul Szende, Ernst Garami, and Socialist leaders like Buehinger, Kunfi and Garbai; also such publicists as Baron Louis Hatvany and Frank Gondor Zoltán Rónai. The basis of the indictment was found in the activities of the persons named in disseminating abroad accounts of the Hungarian "white terror" and denouncing Regent Horthy as responsible for massacres and atrocities. It was a foregone conclusion that the defendants would be convicted; but inasmuch as all are now in exile and cannot be affected by any positive sentences, it was understood that the trial would be a purely political move by the Government designed to make it impossible for the émigrés to return to Hungary.

Much unfavorable comment, even in Government organs, was called out by the acquittal, on Sept. 26, of several persons charged with hurling bombs into the ballroom of a Jewish society at Csongrad about a year ago. The defendants were leading members of a reactionary society known as Awakening Hungary, which has caused much disturbance in the past two years, and the verdict, although rendered nominally on the ground that admission of guilt was obtained by torture, was construed as an evidence of the power which this organization wielded even in the administration of justice.

At the end of September it became known that the Government had decided to reject the demand of Germany for the extradition of Heinrich Schultz, alias Foerster, identified as one of the assassins of Matthias Erzberger. The decision was based on the refusal of the

German Government to permit the extradition of the alleged murderer of the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, in 1921. Violent anti-Government demonstrations followed the liberation of Schultz on Oct. 9; fistic encounters disrupted the Parliamentary session and several Deputies were hurt.

Tentative accounts of the Treasury for August showed satisfactory progress with regard to the provisional budget, actual receipts being about 6,000,000 gold crowns in excess of the estimates. On the other hand, the country's harvests—as is true also in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—were below expectations, rendering the work of reconstruction more difficult. In addition, the reorganization of the State railways did not appear to have met with the anticipated success.

## Rumania

**D**URING his stay in Washington the American Minister to Rumania, Peter A. Jay, gave the State Department full information on recent mining and other legislation considered prejudicial to American capital invested in Rumania. The status of Rumanian debts owed in the United States was also discussed. It was reported from Bucharest on Sept. 19 that Prince Bibesco, Rumanian Minister to the United States, had informed his Government that Mr. Jay's return to Rumania (save briefly to close up his personal affairs) was improbable, and that the State Department's intention was to leave the legation at the Rumanian capital in the custody of a chargé d'affaires as a measure of diplomatic pressure to induce the Rumanian Government to adjust pending American claims. When questioned by press representatives, both Mr. Jay and the State Department authorities declined to comment.

Bolshevist activities continued to keep Bessarabia in a highly unsettled condition. Raids across the Dneister frontier in the middle of September resulted in a total of over 300 casualties, and the Rumanian Ministers who investigated the situation on the spot reported that

the Bolshevist plan had been to conquer all the territory in the vicinity of Akkerman and proclaim a South Bessarabian republic. With the aid of German colonists, gendarmes held the invaders in check until the arrival of Rumanian troops, and subsequently order was restored. At the end of September it was reported that a large supply of Bolshevist arms and ammunition had been discovered in Bessarabia, designed for use in the establishment of a Moldavian republic, between the Dneister and Pruth Rivers, under the "benevolent protection" of Moscow. An important railway bridge near Czarowicz was blown up by dynamite on Oct. 7; the explosion occurred when a train was due, but, the latter being late, there were no casualties. Authorities ascribed the outrage to Bolsheviki.

The net receipts for the month of August were 4,513,612,616.10 lei, according to the statistics released by the Rumanian Ministry of Finance, the revenues being 500,000,000 lei in excess of what was expected.

The Gregorian calendar on Oct. 1 was substituted for the Justinian one; for 1924 the month of October had, therefore, only sixteen days, beginning with the fourteenth instead of the first, as decided by the Rumanian Holy Synod.

## Poland

**T**HE Warsaw Government on Sept. 27 agreed to receive the newly appointed Russian Minister, Peter Vokkoff. A month earlier the Foreign Office was unwilling to recognize Vokkoff's appointment, on account of reports that he had had a direct part in the massacre of the Russian imperial family. Denial by the Moscow authorities removed the obstacle.

The situation on the eastern frontiers continued very disturbed, and the main effort of the Polish Government was directed to maintaining order in that quarter. The pillaging of a train on Sept. 25 by a robber gang of forty Polish peasants, organized and led by



persons from Russia, was but one of many episodes betokening the intention of the Soviets to stir up trouble and, with the help of local bandits, to provoke revolutionary movements. With a view to strengthening the allegiance of the eastern peasantry, the parties of the Left made demands for immediate land reforms and other concessions. The parties of the Right hoped that the recent assumption by the central Government of special control over the Novgorod and Volhynia Provinces, involving the organization of a corps for the defense of the frontier, would meet the situation.

Warsaw was the host during the early part of September to two international conventions. The Second Congress of the International Students' Federation met in the Polish capital with 350 delegates present representing thirty countries. In the old royal chateau of Warsaw the Polish President opened the Sixth International Congress of Professors of Secondary Schools. On both occasions Polish spokesmen took pride in recalling that the first Polish republic had established the first Ministry of Public Education in Warsaw.

The Polish Government announced the establishment of a Ruthenian University which, it was announced, would be situated temporarily at Cracow. The Ministry of Instruction was authorized to appoint a commission composed equally of Polish and Ruthenian professors headed by a delegate of the Ministry to organize this university. It was reported that the services of eighteen of the twenty-six Ruthenian university professors who were teaching in Austrian and Russian universities before the war had been enlisted for the new institution. The university, it was added, would consist of two faculties, law and philosophy, and was expected to open early in 1925.

At the September session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, Count Alexander Skrzynski, Polish Foreign Minister, was elected one of the Vice Presidents of the Assembly. Prior to assuming the foreign portfolio

a few months ago, Count Skrzynski served as Polish Minister to the League of Nations.

## Yugoslavia

POLITICAL conditions continued unsettled, pending a final determination of the terms upon which the Croatian Peasants Party, led by M. Raditch, shall be given representation in the Davidovitch Cabinet. Nominally included in the group of parties supporting the new Government, the Croats were ignored when the Cabinet was organized last July, chiefly because the continuance of their allegiance was not assured, and also because M. Raditch had failed to make clear precisely what his party's demands and policies would be. Pressed by the Premier for a definite pledge of support, the Croats held at Zagreb, on Sept. 14, a mass meeting which was reported to have been attended by thirty thousand people; and, after much discussion among the leaders, they affirmed full support of the Government and approved the acceptance of ministerial portfolios by members of the party. Since he was still lacking a clear indication of the party's program, however, M. Davidovitch indefinitely postponed the proposed Cabinet reconstruction.

Of the country's exports during the first half of the current year, totaling 4,176,000,000 dinars, more than 50 per cent. were industrial products, and at a meeting of representatives of industrial corporations held at Belgrade in September it was the consensus of opinion that industry, rather than agriculture, would be the main factor in the stabilizing of the Yugoslav currency. Accordingly it was specially urged that industry be aided by a new customs tariff, by the simplification and cheapening of the customs administration, and by readjustment of railway rates to industrial needs. The head of the customs section of the Ministry of Finance, however, said that the introduction of a new customs tariff was a question requiring further detailed study, for which time would have to be allowed.

# Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

Professor of History, University of Virginia

## Spain

IN "Spain Today," a book by Frank B. Deakin, recently published in London, a serious view is taken of the situation in that country. The book speaks of the reign of selfishness and bad faith in Spain, and says that poverty, ignorance, cruelty and injustice oppress the lives of more than half the inhabitants, who are the victims of darkness and corruption. Arnold Bennett also, who has recently visited the peninsula, has published a series of articles assigning the same causes of Spanish decay. "Ignorance is the mother of devotion," said Pope Gregory the Great long centuries ago; and Primo de Rivera seems to hold that ignorance is also the mother of submission to dictators, as he has had the library of the old Catalan town of Vich suppressed, and has recently caused thirteen more Catalan professors to be dismissed from their chairs for signing the address of sympathy with Professor Dwelshauvers. This brings the number of those dismissed up to 150.

Sept. 13, anniversary of the *coup d'état* by which Rivera seized power, found the Dictator facing serious difficulties. A long paragraph, written from Tangier by E. L. in *Le Courrier Catalan*, gives details of the strong and successful opposition made by army officers to Rivera's plans when he made his first journey to Morocco. These officers did not wish to retire before the Riffs. The insurgent tribesmen, however, have driven the Spanish forces back at various points. On the night of Sept. 8 Mter, at the mouth of the river of the same name, was abandoned, and a retirement from other forward positions was begun the next day. It is true that Rivera told the troops that the army, at that time dispersed, would soon be united at its bases, ready to

advance once more. Perhaps, then, the military critic of *El Debate* was a little premature when he exclaimed: "Let the whole Spanish nation dance with joy, for the system has been abandoned that was the cause of all the woes we have suffered, and would have been the cause of further disasters had it continued. May the system of small posts, now dead, rest in peace."

The abandonment of these posts continued for a time; a wireless message of Sept. 11 from Madrid to *The New York Times* stated that the withdrawal of Spanish garrisons near Wad Lau was proceeding and that all available troops were being concentrated near Tetuan. But another wireless message of Sept. 19 from Tangier reported the advance of 40,000 Spaniards from Tetuan to the relief of Sheshuan. The same message stated that the road from Tetuan to Tangier had been again closed by the enemy, and that Jabala tribesmen were holding a mass meeting at the sacred tomb of Mulai Abdessalem, whence they would proceed to attack the Spanish columns marching toward Sheshuan. On Sept. 20 the Associated Press announced from Madrid that 30,000 Spaniards, aided by naval and air forces, had captured Gorgues, a strategic mountain position from which the Moors had virtually dominated Tetuan. The Moors, however, refused to permit the Spanish garrison and civilians at Sheshuan to evacuate the town, and demanded unconditional surrender. Rivera's airplanes were distributing copies of a manifesto in the Moorish tongues declaring that Spain would not abandon Morocco, but would establish a strong line of defense between the tribes that have submitted and those that have rebelled. The advance on Sheshuan continued, and a wireless of Oct. 2 from Tangier said that Spanish reinforcements had reached Sheshuan. It was



also reported that desperate fighting had taken place elsewhere, when the tribesmen furiously attacked the Spanish troops attempting to evacuate certain camps and posts and concentrate at the important camp of Sokelkhamis.

A decree was published in Madrid late in August assigning to the National Telephone Company all the telephone services throughout Spain.

## Portugal

**A**NOTHER abortive attempt at revolution by Communists, with the aid of some soldiers, was made on Sept. 12. The explosion of a bomb before day-break was the signal for the beginning of the attack upon the War Office, the telegraph office and the Custom House in Lisbon. But the revolutionists were soon driven out by Government troops and several of the ringleaders were arrested, among them Major Falcao, Dr. Veiga and Lieutenant Monteiro. The police subsequently arrested the anarchist, Marques da Costa, and seized 300 bombs and threw them into the Tagus.

## Switzerland

**T**HE Congress of the Swiss Socialist Party, held at Basle, rejected by 133 votes against 57 a resolution urging "systematic opposition" to the League of Nations.

By 136 votes to 36 the Swiss Trade Union Congress, meeting at Lausanne, rejected a proposal for co-operation with the Swiss Communist Party.

Fifteen persons were killed on the night of Sept. 24 by a landslide which destroyed twenty houses in the village of Someo in the Tessin Canton. The landslide caused the overflow of a stream which inundated part of the village.

## Holland

**I**N reopening Parliament on Sept. 16, Queen Wilhelmina stated that bills would be introduced dealing with the fleet, a tax on luxuries and a reduction in certain direct taxes. She expressed confidence that, if the financial meas-

ures were approved, the budget would balance in 1925. The financial situation in the Dutch East Indies was improving.

T. Vanderhoop, a Dutch airman, left Amsterdam on Oct. 1 in a Fokker plane to fly 9,300 miles to Batavia, Java, via Constantinople, Calcutta, Rangoon and Singapore, his purpose being to test the possibilities of commercial aviation between Holland and Java.

## Denmark

**I**F the plans of the Danish Labor Cabinet are carried out, the army and the navy, the War Office and the Admiralty will disappear completely, and will be replaced by a "constabulary" of 7,000 frontier guards and a few armed vessels for policing Danish waters. The constabulary will be armed with batons, revolvers, carbines, and hand grenades, but not with rifles or artillery. The cost is computed at 11,000,000 kroner annually, as against 60,000,000 kroner under present conditions. In a recent conversation with the Copenhagen correspondent of The London Times, Laust Rasmussen, Minister of Defense, stated that Denmark, with only 3,500,000 inhabitants, and with a coast line longer than that of France, is militarily impotent. He stated that though Sweden is able to repulse an attack, Denmark is not, the staff officers admitting that the defense of Copenhagen is impossible. He considered the possession of a navy to be a positive danger. He also regarded the proposed plan as sufficient to enable Denmark to fulfill all her international obligations.

## Norway

**R**OALD AMUNDSEN, the explorer, arrived in New York City on Oct. 6. He planned to make a lecture tour throughout the United States for the purpose of securing funds to meet numerous obligations and to build three hydroplanes to be used in a flight to the North Pole and other places in the Arctic regions.

King Haakon on Sept. 18 opened a

great historic exposition in honor of Christiania's 300th birthday as capital of Norway. A commercial agreement between Norway and Hungary, on the principle of the most favored nation, has recently been signed. The Soviet Government has appointed Mme. Kol-lontai, the apostle of the "new ethics" in matrimonial and family relations, as its representative in Norway.

## Sweden

THE final figures of the elections for the Second Chamber of the Swedish Riksdag failed to show a clear majority in the Riksdag for any one party. In spite of the unusually energetic electoral campaign by all parties, the changes were comparatively small and did not give any clear indication of a change in the present Trygger Government, which is conservative. The Social-Democrats gained five seats and elected in all 104 members, thus remaining by far the strongest party, having forty seats more in the Riksdag than the Conservatives. The absolute Social-Democrat gain, however, over the Conservatives was only three, the Conservative Party having gained two and elected sixty-four. The Liberals lost eight and now hold thirty-three seats. The Farmers' Union elected twenty-four and gained three. The Communist Party sustained the greatest percentage loss, their mandates being reduced from seven to five. This further weakening of the Communists was made all the more significant by the fact that the well-known Stockholm Communist, K. Kilbom, leader of the fraction faithful to Moscow, was defeated.

The Trygger Cabinet resigned on Oct. 14, and it was announced that the King would confer with Hjalmar Branting and C. G. Ekman, the Social-Democrat, and Liberal leaders, as to the formation of a new Government.

Early in September a new treaty was ratified for the settlement by arbitra-

tion of differences between Sweden and Norway.

The Thirty-third Congress of the International Law Association, with 400 delegates from twenty countries, was held at Stockholm in September. Prime Minister Trygger delivered the address of welcome, after which a formal address was made by H. Hammarskjöld of Sweden who had been elected President. An important transaction of the Congress was the adoption of the first complete "general average" rules in the history of international trade. One object of these rules is the adjustment of damages when part of a ship's cargo is thrown overboard in order to save the rest and the ship. The new rules differ from the old "York-Antwerp Rules" in giving a definition of "general average" and in providing certain fundamental principles to be followed in all settlements.

The Swedish-American Line began in September the operation of five fast freight ships between New York and Helsingfors, Finland. The Russian Soviet has contracted with a Gothenburg firm for the delivery of four 10,000-ton motor ships. This is the largest order placed by Russia in Sweden since the two countries ratified the commercial treaty.

The Thirteenth General Church Conference of Sweden has begun a movement for closer cooperation between the Lutherans of Sweden and America.

A new motor fuel, "laett-bentyl," costing less and developing more power than gasoline, has been perfected in Sweden by Svensk Sprit, Ltd. One of its ingredients is ethyl alcohol, a by-product of the manufacture of chemical wood pulp. A new factory has been established at Agnesberg for making fish oil and fish meal, which is valuable as food for cattle. Sweden's surplus of exports over imports during August was \$3,216,000, the chief commodities exported being paper, iron ore, cement, matches, wood pulp and lumber.



# Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois.

PRESIDENT MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA in recent extensive travels in Turkey visited Constantinople and Trebizond. At the latter place he made an address in which he complimented highly the Popular Party, of which he is leader. He declared his intention of retaining this leadership, since he considered that the party has made Turkey one of the important nations of the civilized world. It was reported from Jerusalem that a Moslem delegation from India was on the way to Angora for the purpose of asking Mustapha Kemal Pasha to accept the Caliphate. It was affirmed that the Indian delegation had an understanding with Sultan Ibn Saud of Nejd, who would be glad to see the Turkish President hold the office, the claim to which has been abandoned by ex-King Hussein of the Hedjaz. A subscription is being taken up in Turkey to raise funds for a great equestrian statue of Mustapha Kemal. American sculptors have been approached by a Turkish emissary with a view to obtaining designs for this work.

The question of the frontier between Iraq and Turkey was brought before the Council of the League of Nations. The representatives of Turkey and Britain on Sept. 30 agreed to accept the appointment of a special committee of three to collect all available information on the Mosul question and submit it to the Council at a later date with suggestions as to the solution of the problem. Lord Parmoor and Ali Fethi Bey agreed to accept any decision on this subject which the Council might give. The Council urged that the Turkish and British Governments restore and maintain peace on both sides of the present frontier until the controversy shall have been settled.

The Turkish authorities in Constantinople have been making trouble for

some Greek citizens there by insisting upon a very narrow interpretation of the provision in the Treaty of Lausanne that Greeks who had "established" their domicile in Constantinople before October, 1918, are to be allowed to remain.

Haidar Bey, the Mayor of Angora, with a committee of officials has visited Budapest and Berlin in order to engage experts and obtain ideas for the modernizing and beautifying of the Turkish capital. Germany has constructed a portable bungalow there for the use of its legation, and the British Government has decided to construct a more permanent building. Mayor Haidar Bey engaged at Berlin an architect, a water supply specialist and about fifty master masons. He stated in an interview that Angora would henceforth be the Turkish capital and that Constantinople would be primarily the seat of art and learning and the repository of Turkish traditions and that, though it would no doubt have a considerable trade, it lacked an extensive Turkish hinterland. Smyrna was growing daily more important as a Turkish trading mart because of the rich Turkish territory for which it was the outlet. Ten thousand men, nearly all Turks, but under the partial direction of foreign engineers, among whom were fifty Hungarians, were engaged in constructing railways eastward and northward from Angora.

Professor Fisher of Robert College, Constantinople, who was ordered to be dismissed by the Turkish Government, was reinstated at the beginning of October. This was a result of the re-examination by the Government of the charge that Professor Fisher had made a public statement derogatory to the Turks. It was now found that the charge was due to a misunderstanding, and Professor Fisher accordingly returned from Sofia to Constantinople.

## Egypt

**ZAGHLUL PASHA** visited Ramsay MacDonald at the end of September. It had been announced on Sept. 17 that the Egyptian Premier was returning directly to Egypt. The British press printed an interview with Premier MacDonald in which he was held to have accused members of the Egyptian Government of complicity in the Sudan troubles, and to have declared that Great Britain would permit no compromise in regard to that country or to removing the troops from Egypt or the Suez Canal. Mr. MacDonald promptly denied the accuracy of the interview, and after a time the meeting of the Premiers was arranged. What happened at this meeting was disclosed by a letter written by Mr. MacDonald and made public by the Foreign Office in London on Oct. 7. The British Prime Minister declared that the attitude adopted by Zaghlul had rendered impossible for the present an agreement between the British and Egyptian Governments on the questions left for eventual settlement when the British Protectorate was withdrawn in 1922. The letter, which was addressed to the British High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, said that pending some future agreement between the two countries the duty of preserving order in the Sudan rested in fact upon his Majesty's Government. "And," Mr. MacDonald added, "they will take every step necessary for this purpose." In the course of the conversations between Ramsay MacDonald and Zaghlul Pasha the latter made five demands for modifications in the Egyptian status quo, namely, withdrawal of all the British forces from Egyptian territory, withdrawal of the financial and judicial advisers, disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in connection with foreign relations; abandonment by the British Government of their claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt, and abandonment by the British of their claim to share in any way in protecting

the Suez Canal. "I raised the question of the canal straightaway," the Premier wrote, "because its security is of vital interest to us, both in peace and in war," and he went on to declare that "no British Government, in the light of its experience in the great war could divest itself wholly, even in favor of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications. There was nothing in the letter to show that the British Prime Minister came any nearer to agreeing to Zaghlul's other demands than he did in the matter of the canal. The Prime Minister considered it his duty to "conserve unimpaired" the position of the British in Egypt and the Sudan.

Zaghlul Pasha left London for Egypt on Oct. 7 with an enthusiastic send-off by a party of Egyptian students. He told his fellow-countrymen that he had done his best to settle finally the questions at issue between Great Britain and Egypt, but that his offer to show proof of the right claimed by Egypt had been refused. "The fault is not ours but theirs," he commented.

The British Residency in Cairo announced in the middle of September the results of the official inquiry into the Atbara mutiny. The evidence showed that the Arab troops who fired on the mutineers did so spontaneously and contrary to definite orders from their British officers that no firing should take place without orders. The mutinous railway battalion was sent back from the Sudan to Egypt.

The dispute between the Coptic Patriarch and the Abyssinian Church was settled in Cairo late in August. At least half the building land in the Deir el Sultan at Jerusalem is to be made over to the Abyssinians, and they are to be given use of one of the two chapels. If at any time the Abyssinian Church should secede the land just made over will revert to the Coptic Patriarch. The Abyssinian Government has made over to the Patriarch a property in Addis Abeba, the revenue from which will be used to aid the Coptic poor in Egypt



and encourage Coptic pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The Egyptian Government, as already recorded, ceased after July 12 to pay instalments of the "Egyptian Tribute" to representatives of European bondholders, so that bonds drawn for redemption in September could not be paid. London financiers sent a letter of protest to the Egyptian Government, pointing out that default impairs Egyptian credit seriously.

## Arabia

THE most striking development in the Near East during the past month was the invasion by the Wahabi troops of Sultan Ibn Saud of Nejd into the territories of King Hussein of the Hedjaz. The unsuccessful raid of the Wahabis into Transjordan has already been described in this magazine. An attempt was also made upon Iraq, but in both cases the British airplanes were too much for the desert fighters. Early in September, however, a strong force attacked Taif, a mountain city sixty miles southeast of Mecca. The place was easily taken and the invaders advanced to the neighborhood of Mecca. An appeal from King Hussein for aid from Great Britain fell upon deaf ears. He has too often refused to sign a treaty with the London Government. The Holy City was reported to have been captured, but it appeared that the Wahabis stopped to negotiate. King Hussein signed, at Jeddah on Oct. 4, his abdication both as King and Caliph. This followed the issuance by a committee of citizens of Mecca and Jeddah of the following manifesto:

The inhabitants of the Hedjaz have decided that they require the dissolution of the Hashimite Government, headed by King Hussein, and the succession of a temporary Government for the protection of the country, to be appointed by the inhabitants of the Hedjaz, who are ready to conform to the orders of the whole Moslem world. They do not wish to fight with any one and they appeal to the whole world to stop the present hostilities.

It was later announced that Hussein's

youngest son, Emir Zeid, had departed for London by airplane, and that his eldest son, Emir Ali, had been proclaimed King at Mecca, after distinctly renouncing any intention to proclaim himself Caliph. Hussein stated that his retirement from Mecca had been temporary in order to avoid bloodshed among Moslems. He expressed a firm belief that the Moslem World Congress to be held at Cairo in March, 1925, would reinstate him in the position of Caliph. Sultan Ibn Saud is reported to have said that this time—his troops have been near Mecca two or three times before—he would make sure that the Hashimite family would leave the Hedjaz. He affirmed that, contrary to the assertion of the Meccans, his troops did not commit atrocities when they took Taif.

The Wahabis are the result of a reform movement in Islam, which developed in Central Arabia about 180 years ago. The founder preached a return to the original simplicity of the Arabs in the time of Mohammed the Prophet. The Wahabis insist upon high moral standards, and add to the ordinary prohibitions of Mohammedanism the exclusion of the use of tobacco, silk garments and rosaries. Near the beginning of the nineteenth century Wahabi forces took not only Kerbela, the Mesopotamian sacred city of Shia Moslems, but Mecca and Medina, the holy cities of Sunnite Islam. Averse to the worship of saints, they destroyed tombs and carried off treasures. In 1810 the Tomb of Mohammed the Prophet at Medina was plundered. This led to an invasion from Egypt sent by the great Mohammed Ali. In a war of seven years' duration the Wahabis were conquered. The Egyptian control disappeared about 1840, but the Wahabi power did not rise again to great strength until very lately. During the great war both Sultan Ibn Saud and King Hussein were in the pay of the British Government. This did not prevent them, however, from fighting each other immediately after the armistice. The Wahabi Sultan has never consid-

ered the family of King Hussein to be sufficiently pious and austere. He was seriously offended at King Hussein's assumption last March of the title of Caliph. He also opposes the rule of King Feisal in Iraq, and the Emir Abdullah in Transjordan, both of these potentates being sons of ex-King Hussein. Inasmuch as both of these territories are held by the British under mandate from the League of Nations, it is not believed that Ibn Saud will succeed in conquering them. If, however, the recent raids of Turkish bands into Northern Iraq should be followed by serious attacks, the British might be confronted with a war greater than they would wish to carry through.

## Palestine

**K**ING FERDINAND of Rumania has been invited by authorities of the Greek Catholic Church to assume on their behalf the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre. Since the death of Czar Nicholas II. of Russia, King Ferdinand has been head of the chief Greek Orthodox State. Sir Herbert Samuel has lately been criticized by Jews in London, on the ground of his being opposed to the ideas of Jewish nationalism, and also by the Arab Executive at Jerusalem because of granting too many facilities for Jewish immigration.

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem is showing many signs of life. Professor Albert Einstein, famous for his theory of relativity, is reported to have accepted a professorship there. Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Hindu poet, has lately lectured at the university. The scientific and medical departments are being rapidly organized. Dr. Louis Ginsberg, Professor of the Talmud in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, has been invited to join the University at Jerusalem. A committee of Jewish leaders and scholars met recently in London to decide upon the addition of new departments to those of biochemistry and microbiology. They decided not to proceed too rapidly in the admission of

subjects of study. Their recommendations were restricted to subjects of study exclusively Jewish and to creating only those sub-departments for which first-class men can be found as professors.

The Kadoorie bequest, made by a wealthy merchant of that name who lived in Bagdad, for educational purposes in Palestine, has been allotted by the Government, one-half to an agricultural school for Arabs at Tul-Keram and one-half to the Hebrew High School in Jerusalem.

## Iraq

**I**N the middle of September Turkish bands crossed the frontier in the districts of Zakho and Amadia. British airplanes dispersed the raiders with machine gun fire. Martial law was proclaimed in the two districts as a precautionary measure to prevent similar aggressions in the future. Assyrian levies, assisted by Kurdish and Assyrian tribesmen, commanded by British officers, occupied a line near the frontier.

The British Government was disposed to take the invasion seriously, as the deliberate act of Turkish commanders, who knew well the exact location of the frontier. It was felt to be an attempt to try out the British intention to maintain authority in the Mosul district.

Permission to return to Iraq has been granted to Saiyid Talib, who was arrested three years ago by the British, and deported on account of his opposition to the candidacy of Emir Feisal as King of Iraq. Talib was detained some time in Ceylon and then permitted to go to Europe. Lately he had been staying in England, where his sons are being educated. It was presumed that he had promised to support the Government of King Feisal.

## Persia

**I**N the new Cabinet, formed on Aug. 30, Riza Khan continued in office as Prime Minister. Other members of the Cabinet are as follows:



REZA KHAN SARDAR SEPAH  
Prime Minister of Persia

MOSHAR-UL-MULK, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

ZOKA-UL-MULK—Minister of Finance.

ADIB-ES-SULTANEH, Minister of Justice.

AMIR IKHTEDAR—Minister of the Interior.

SARDAR ASSAD—Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

SARDAR KHORASSASSANI—Minister of Public Works.

The body of Major Imbrie, the United States Consul who was killed by a Persian mob, was escorted safely to Washington, where it arrived early in October. On Oct. 1 the Persian Government delivered to the American Chargé d'Affaires in Teheran a check for \$60,000 for payment to Mrs. Imbrie. Mr. Seymour, who was injured while with

Major Imbrie, had recovered sufficiently to leave the hospital. A firing squad at Teheran on Oct. 2 executed Private Morteza of the Persian Army Transport Corps, who had been sentenced to death on Aug. 8 for "having incited the mob to kill Vice Consul Imbrie, having disregarded the orders of Second Lieutenant Mustapha Khan and the non-commissioned officer, Mohammed Ali Khan, who three times ordered him to desist and pulled him out of the mob, and having nevertheless persisted in attacking."

Reports continued to be received of difficulties between the American advisers and the Persian Government. Certain newspapers attacked and criticized the Americans and suggested their resignation. Their attempts to control the revenue receipts of the provinces and to recover State domains which had been misappropriated, aroused trouble in the southern provinces. It was hinted that British interests in Khuzistan were supporting Sheik Azal, who was in revolt against the Persian Government. British opposition was said to be based on the proposed oil concessions to Americans in North Persia, and the proposed loan of \$10,000,000, which was to be guaranteed by oil royalties in Southern Persia. The Persian Government asked Mr. Sinclair's representative for a definite statement as to whether that loan could be made. Late in September Mr. Sinclair cabled that he was unable to raise the loan in New York. The ratification of the Sinclair concession was therefore deferred. The belief in Teheran was that the failure was due to the murder of Major Imbrie, which was supposed to have discouraged Americans from investing money in Persia.





# The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

Professor of History, Stanford University

## China

**D**URING the month under review there were several interesting developments in China's latest civil war, but no decisive contest occurred. It will be remembered that fighting began on Sept. 3, when General Chi Hsieh-yuan, Military Governor of Kiangsu Province, attempted to drive General Lu Yung-hsiang, Military Governor of Chekiang Province, out of the Shanghai-Sungkiang region. Continued fighting, with varying success, has been reported in this zone. The prospects of General Lu seemed hopeless when, on Sept. 18, his third army, assigned to guard the home province, revolted. Three days later six of his warships deserted to the enemy, but the largest, the cruiser Haichow, returned to its anchorage the next day. The revolt, however, proved less serious than originally reported. On Oct. 8 the Chekiang forces were making desperate attempts to hold Sungkiang against a combined attack from Kiangsu, Anhwei and Fukiens.

Although foreign interests were more immediately concerned with the fighting around Shanghai, where many foreign ships had been concentrated and forces landed, a far more important issue was being wrestled with in the north. This was the struggle between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu Pei-fu, military leader of the Chihli party, for the control of Peking. For a few days after the operations began on the Yangtse there was some uncertainty as to whether Chang would take advantage of the situation to settle his score with Wu Pei-fu. Both sides mobilized their forces and on Sept. 17 Chang proclaimed his intention of making war on President Tsao Kun and General Wu Pei-fu. The Peking Government replied on Sept. 19 by proclaiming Chang "a disturber of the na-

tional peace whom the Government was obliged to suppress by force." On Sept. 18 Chang's airmen dropped bombs on Shanhaikwan, at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, a mobilization centre for the Chihli forces. This led to a protest from the diplomatic body at Peking, addressed to both the Chinese Government and Chang Tso-lin, against the bombing of undefended towns. On Oct. 7 Chang was trying to force an entrance into Chihli at Shanhaikwan and also near Jehol. No major engagement had been reported. Meanwhile, however, rapid progress was made in the neighborhood of Shanhaikwan by General Chang Hsi-yuan, a son of Chang Tso-lin. On Oct. 9 it was authoritatively reported that Hsi-yuan was in possession of a considerable part of the Great Wall of China in that area.

The entrance of the senior Chang into the arena has precipitated one foreign complication and has threatened to produce others.

Japan has large economic interests in Manchuria, including the South Manchurian Railway, coal mines and many industrial enterprises. The Japanese Government has announced that it would follow a course of strict non-intervention, but certain elements have advocated the support of Chang Tso-lin, who is considered more favorable to Japan than Wu Pei-fu.

Early in October the Peking Government was directing an offensive against Chekiang Province, and was meeting an offensive from Manchuria. In the South, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen announced that he would lead his forces to the defense of Chekiang, but up to the middle of October he had not been able to advance. The defeat and elimination of Chang Lu and Sun by the Chihli forces might, it was felt, simplify the political situation in China, but there was no convincing reason to believe that peace

and good order could soon be achieved.

Dr. W. W. Yen, a graduate of the University of Virginia, was elected Prime Minister by the Chinese Parliament on Sept. 12. Dr. Yen has filled several important posts in the Chinese diplomatic service. He has been Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was twice Acting Prime Minister.

The Chinese Government has named the Chinese-American commission which will handle the funds remitted by the United States on account of the Boxer indemnity. Among the American members are Professor John Dewey and Paul Monroe of Columbia University; C. R. Bretnen of the International Banking Corporation; J. E. Barker, adviser to the Ministry of Communications, Peking, and Roger Greene of the China Medical Board.

## Japan

THE civil war in China has aroused great interest in Japan because of the effects it may have on Japan's special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. In connection with the Japanese amendment to the arbitration and disarmament protocol at Geneva it was pointed out that civil war in China was an example of a domestic question which might involve Japan in a conflict in defense of her special interests, and, under the original terms of the protocol, she would have been considered an aggressor.

Premier Kato has announced that the Japanese troops will not be withdrawn from Northern Saghalien this year as the island will soon be frozen in. This was taken to mean that there was little immediate prospect of a Russo-Japanese understanding.

The drafting of the naval budget for 1925 has proven difficult for the Kato Ministry. A joint report of two Government commissions to the Cabinet recommended a reduction of 56,000,000 yen below the 1924 appropriation. This would only permit the completion of 70 per cent. of the program for auxiliary vessels and would cut the personnel

by 12,000. Admiral Takarabe, Minister of the Navy, and the high naval officials opposed the reductions. Admiral Yakarabe made numerous addresses urging defeat of the proposed reduction. On Oct. 7 he told the Cabinet Council that "any assumption that war will not occur in the near future" was unjustifiable. His statements provoked wide comment.

A new treaty with Japan was signed by the Mexican Government on Oct. 8 at Mexico City after Japan had dropped her claims for losses due to the Mexican revolution.

The districts of Kobe and Hyogo were the latest to be affected by the sleeping sickness epidemic which has recently spread across Japan. During September strenuous efforts to curb the disease were made, both by local and national authorities. Up to Aug. 15, it was announced, 350 persons had died of this malady.



S. KATAYAMA

Japanese Communist leader, now an exile in Moscow, where he is active in the affairs of the Third International

# International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History in Princeton University

THE outstanding event in international affairs during the past month was the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva at which forty-seven nations became parties to the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and various other matters were dealt with. Articles elsewhere in this magazine contain detailed accounts of the Assembly and its labors.

Great Britain's recent treaty with Russia has, during the past month, been the object of fierce attacks by the political opponents of Premier MacDonald. On Sept. 10 Lloyd George, in a speech to his Welsh constituents, denounced it as a "fake and a folly." Next day Premier Herriot, himself an avowed partisan of immediate Russian recognition, but conscious of the ever-present French Senate controlled by Poincaré, announced that he had appointed a commission to study and confer with Russia upon the subject of the guarantees and conditions under which normal diplomatic and economic relations could be resumed between France and Russia. He felt the pressure of the Nationalists' contention that, before following Great Britain's example and recognizing Russia, France must be assured of the payment of \$500,000,000 which Russia owed to the French Government and to French private investors. Senator de Monzie, a pronounced advocate of Russian recognition, was announced as the head of the commission, but the former French Ambassador to Russia, M. Noulens, was also announced as a member of the commission, evidently to represent the French bondholders, and to look after their special interests. The commission began work on Oct. 6. According to a despatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES its difficulties had been somewhat increased by the political situation in England, which was partly due to the opposition

to the Anglo-Soviet treaty. The French Government, it was further stated, would continue its policy of keeping Washington advised of all decisions and the motives for them.

In addition to the party hostility aroused in England by his Russian treaty, Premier MacDonald incurred bitter criticism in Russia by supporting the resolution adopted by the League of Nations in mid-September to investigate the situation in Georgia. The Russians indignantly declared that in thus taking sides with reference to the claims of Georgia the British Premier had violated the Anglo-Russian treaty, which expressly forbids interference by one country in the internal affairs of the other. The Soviet officials declared that the League of Nations had no more right to investigate the Georgian question than to inquire into the situation in Mesopotamia, Syria or any other country under foreign tutelage. Pravda suggested that if Georgia was to have a plebiscite, one should also be arranged for India, China, Morocco and Egypt. In justification of the action of the League and of Mr. MacDonald's support of it, a report was received from John Hallowell, an American mining engineer, declaring that Russia's policy in Georgia was to rule by terror. He added:

Since the Bolshevik invasion of 1921 thousands of patriotic Georgians have been massacred by the Cheka \* \* \* Tens of thousands of others have been deported to Siberia; all the churches have been transformed into Soviet clubs and dance halls. Bishop Ambrosie was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment at hard labor for refusing to join the Living Church; the State workers in the manganese fields have been getting less than a living wage; all newspapers and magazines except the Bolshevik have been suppressed; taxes have been increased enormously and the country is on the verge of starvation.

The Soviets have organized all the Com-



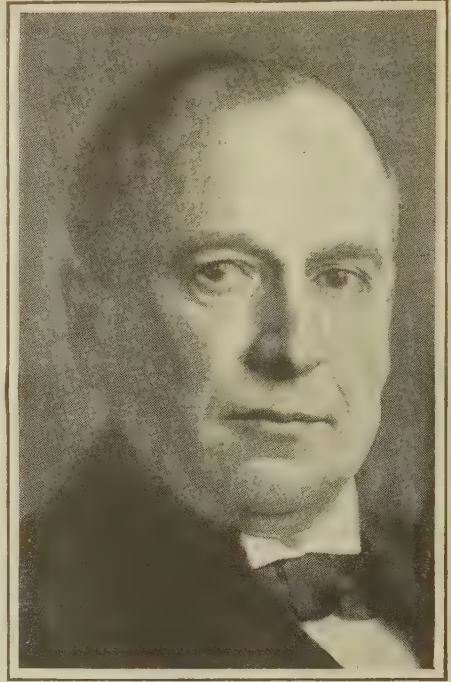
munists of Georgia, who compose much less than 1 per cent. of the population, into special units to assist in the defense of Batum and Tiflis.

Mr. Hallowell's declaration, from first-hand experience, was to the effect that the Soviets were using terrorist methods not alone against the Georgian revolutionists but against the entire population. The actions of Russia in Georgia might be a question of domestic policy; but the interest shown in it at Geneva, and by the British Prime Minister, raised it at once to a question of international moment.

#### THE CIVIL WAR IN CHINA

Civil war in China, the strife of the Tuchuns (military Governors of Provinces) for supreme control of the country, has caused the nations with large commercial and missionary interests in China to fear for the safety of their investments and their nationals. Big interests, national and international, were affected by the strife of the military leaders, of whom Wu Pei-fu, the overlord of the Peking Government and the Central Provinces, represented the determination of the purely Chinese people to be ruled neither by Manchu nor by foreign power, open or hidden. Chang Tso-lin, overlord of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, and Wu Pei-fu's most formidable opponent, had as his apparent objective the restoration of the rule of the Manchus in Peking. Lu Yung-hsiang, during recent years in control of Shanghai, the key to the great commercial, financial and military area dominated by the Yang-tse River, was the third outstanding contestant. General Wu's purpose, to which he devoted his resources, was to drive General Lu from his vantage point and put one of his own leaders in command of the vital area of the Yang-tse valley. With General Chang above and General Lu below, General Wu occupied the post of chief danger, which was also the post of chief potential power.

China's recognition of Russia, with results which might conceivably follow,



CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY

The Soviet envoy who negotiated the treaty between Russia and Great Britain

placed General Chang Tso-lin in a position perhaps even more dangerous than that of General Wu, as it left him between the armies of General Wu on the south and a Siberian army on the north. It was reported on Sept. 23 that Chang had signed a treaty with Soviet Russia pledging mutual non-interference with the Chinese Eastern Railway, and that the Peking Government had lodged a formal protest against the reported arrangement with a rebel leader.

So far Russia's movements to secure Japanese and American recognition showed no result of immediate promise. According to a Tokio dispatch of Sept. 20, there was slow progress toward Japanese recognition, Japan having made it clear that she would make no further concessions in the negotiations which had been dragging on at Peking between Russian and Japanese representatives. Premier Kato declared that he would make no "attempt to

bring those negotiations to a successful conclusion at the sacrifice of Japan's interests," and the deadlock over the question of Russia's granting concessions to Japan in Saghalien remained unbroken.

Premier Kato also made his position with reference to the civil war in China very clear in these words: "No interference in Chinese affairs will be undertaken by this country. There is talk of mediation, but that is only talk, and there has been no action. Unless the powers are firmly agreed on mediation, it will not be possible."

Although the Soviet press had systematically denounced Secretary Hughes as possessed of "blind enmity toward Soviet Russia" and represented him as the sole obstacle to the establishment of normal relations with the United States, Foreign Secretary Tchitcherin issued in Moscow on Sept. 26 a long and carefully worded interview in which he attempted to persuade the American Secretary that it was not impossible for the two nations to reach an agreement on the main questions to which Mr. Hughes had referred as standing in the way of recognition.

The controversy over the question of surrendering the Russian legation in Peking to the new Soviet Ambassador, L. M. Karakhan, which caused so much discussion among the diplomats in the Chinese capital, was settled, and on Sept. 12 the transfer was made.

#### DAWES PLAN IN OPERATION

Following the adjournment of the London conference, the measures there adopted for putting the Dawes plan into operation went forward rapidly.

On Sept. 11 the French Minister of Finance and the Paris bankers reached a complete accord with Thomas J. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., representing the New York bankers, regarding the methods of floating the 800,000,000 gold mark loan to Germany provided for in the Dawes report. According to the agreement the loan could be issued in dollars, thus becoming a

loan of \$200,000,000. Immediately after reaching this agreement with France Mr. Lamont went to London to confer with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England and with leading London financiers. There the idea of the issue in dollars instead of pounds sterling, readily consented to by the French because of the comparative instability of the British pound, was by no means welcome.

J. P. Morgan & Co. announced on Oct. 11 that all plans for marketing the American portion of the loan, amounting to \$110,000,000, had been completed, and on Oct. 14 the bonds were offered to the public for subscription by a country-wide syndicate formed by that banking house. The issue bore the title, "German External Loan 1924 7 Per Cent Gold Bonds," was dated Oct. 15, 1924, and was to mature in twenty-five years. The interest rate was 7 per cent. and the bonds were offered at 92 with interest. More than 400 banks received subscriptions.

A Paris dispatch dated Sept. 11 reported negotiations under way between the French Government and a group of American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., for a loan to France of between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000, to be floated after the completion of the German loan. The plan was to hold this sum as a French gold reserve for the protection of the franc so long as there remained need of such protection. It would be used to replace the open credit of \$100,000,000 which J. P. Morgan & Co. placed at the disposal of the Bank of France last March for a period of six months and which was renewed on Sept. 10.

Following the day after this despatch came the report by Edward N. Hurley to Secretary Mellon of a plan for the payment of the French debt to the United States in instalments spread over a period of about sixty-five years with interest at a rate to be fixed later. The amount involved was about \$3,500,000,000, and the plan was prepared by Mr. Hurley for the consideration of

the War Debt Commission, of which he is a member, during a recent visit to Paris. Later despatches reported harsh press comment, not so much on the Hurley plan as the idea of paying the full debt to the United States. Premier Herriot's enemies insisted that in failing to reject the Hurley plan when it was first suggested in London he had endangered France's prospect of getting any reduction of her debts, since England could hardly be expected to make reductions if it was accepted that America was to be paid in full.

Owen D. Young, temporary Agent General for Reparation Payments, on Sept. 16 made his first report before a special meeting of the Reparation Commission, outlining his plans for inaugurating the Dawes recommendations. The report was largely technical and not designed for publication, but the Agent General declared that he was pleased with the prospects, and that he had met with evidences of good-will

everywhere, in Germany as well as in Paris.

Max Huber, legal adviser of the Political Department of Switzerland, and a member of the Court of International Justice, on Sept. 5 was elected President of the Court and M. Andrew Weiss of France, also a member of the Court, was elected its Vice President. Their terms of office are from 1925 to 1927.

The American-German Mixed Claims Commission has made additional awards for lives lost in the sinking of the Lusitania, making a total of about \$1,000,000 in sixty-two cases.

The State Department announced on Oct. 9 that the United States Government would be willing to consider "identity certificates" for Armenian refugees as appropriate documents in lieu of passports. The League of Nations had inquired on Sept. 12 whether the United States would consider the plan proposed by Dr. Nanssen to provide identity certificates for the refugees.

## Deaths of Persons of Prominence

WILLIAM LEWIS DOUGLAS, former Governor of Massachusetts and wealthy shoe manufacturer, at Boston, Mass., Sept. 17, aged 83.

FRANCIS H. BRADLEY, noted English scholar and writer on philosophy, at Oxford, England, Sept. 19, aged 78.

JOHN D. WALLINGFORD, Judge of the United States District Court of the Panama Canal Zone, at Panama, Sept. 20, aged 55.

FRANCISCO BUINES, eminent Mexican historian, sociologist and engineer, at Mexico City, Sept. 22.

BRIG. GEN. CHARLES E. SAWYER, physician successively to Presidents Harding and Coolidge, at Marion, Ohio, Sept. 23, aged 64.

ALLAN MARQUAND, Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, and noted archaeologist, at New York, N. Y., Sept. 24, aged 71.

LOTTA CRABTREE, American actress and for many years a national dramatic favorite, at Boston, Mass., Sept. 25, aged 77.

HERBERT L. BRIDGMAN, explorer, scientist and publisher, at sea on board the United States naval training ship Newport, Sept. 24, aged 80. Mr. Bridgman in 1894 led a relief expedition to the rescue of Robert E. Peary, who was lost in the Arctic.

MANUEL ESTRADA CABRERA, former President of Guatemala, at Guatemala City, Sept. 24, aged 67.

DR. RAYMOND ALDEN, Professor of English in Columbia University, and author of many literary works, at Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 28, aged 51.

W. B. ROSS, Governor of Wyoming, at Cheyenne, Wyo., Oct. 2. Governor Ross, a Democrat, was succeeded in office by Secretary of State Lucas, a Republican.

DR. WILLIAM ARNOLD SHANKLIN, noted American educator and President Emeritus of Wesleyan University, at New York, N. Y., Oct. 6, aged 62.

ANATOLE FRANCE (JACQUES ANATOLE THIBAUT), the greatest figure in modern French literature, at Tours, France, Oct. 12, aged 80. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1921.

LAURENUS CLARKE SEELYE, American educator, at Northampton, Mass., Oct. 12, aged 87. He was the first President of Smith College, which post he held for thirty-seven years.

FRANK BOSWORTH BRANDEGEE, United States Senator from Connecticut and well-known Republican leader, at Washington, D. C., on Oct. 13, aged 60 years. He committed suicide by inhaling illuminating gas.



# The Geneva Protocol to Outlaw War

WITH TEXT OF THE PROTOCOL

THE approval and adoption by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, on Oct. 2, 1924, of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, the text of which is published below, was the crowning achievement of the Assembly's four weeks of strenuous labor in the service of international peace and security. When the Fifth Assembly came to an end amid much splendor of oratory and general rejoicing over the acceptance of the protocol, the delegates representing the member nations of the League, though weary and worn by many debates and political crises, were able to point to the crystallization of a conception entirely new in international relations—the conception of basing the security of the world and its freedom from the crushing weight of armaments upon obligatory arbitration.

This was the aim of this momentous Assembly when it opened at Geneva on Sept. 1, and through the stormy waters of national self-interest and many thorny problems of international adjustment the Assembly cleft a hazardous but relentless way to the desired goal. Premier MacDonald of Great Britain and Premier Herriot of France had each laid down, according to his own lights, the principle of arbitration in their opening speeches before the Assembly on Sept. 4 and Sept. 5 respectively. Premier MacDonald had solemnly declared, among other considerations:

If we cannot devise a scheme of disarmament, let us not fool ourselves that we are going to have peace. The danger of supreme importance which is facing us now is that national security should be regarded merely as a military problem.

Premier Herriot, however, had gone

even further when, in stating the position of France, he said:

Arbitration is necessary, but arbitration is not sufficient. Arbitration, security, disarmament—these are three things inseparable. War has been at all times and for all peoples a frightful reality. Peace must be transformed into a reality in its turn. \* \* \* We are here face to face with the greatest of our duties toward the human race, if we do not wish our labors to be cited later on as those of a vast and sterile academy. \* \* \*

Pascal once said—and these words, in my opinion, should be the motto of our League of Nations—"Justice without force is powerless. Force without justice is tyrannical." \* \* \* You cannot have justice without some force behind it. We must combine right and might. \* \* \* If we are to give the people of the world what they desire we must provide for their security.

On Sept. 6 the Assembly, on the initiative of, and before the departure of, the British and French Premiers, adopted, amid intense enthusiasm, a resolution calling for a world disarmament conference "within as short a time as possible" and laying down the procedure to be followed by the already operating Third and First Committees in their study of the fundamental bases of the protocol. The task of these committees was defined as follows:

1. The Third Committee is charged to examine the documents relative to security and to reduction of armaments, notably the observations of the Governments on the project of a treaty of mutual assistance, prepared under Resolution 14 of the Third Assembly, and the other plans prepared and presented to the Secretariat since the publication of the treaty project, as well as to examine the obligations contained in the League Covenant in view of the guarantees of security which a recourse to arbitration or a reduction of armaments may necessitate.

2. (a) The First Committee is charged to

study, in view of ultimate amendments, the provisions of the League Covenant relative to the adjustment of differences;

(b) To study the limits within which the terms of Article 36, Section 2, of the Statute of the International Tribunal might be made more precise, in order to facilitate the acceptance of this clause and to strengthen the solidarity and security of the nations of the world by harmonizing through peaceful methods all disputes which may possibly arise between any nations.

The first week of the Assembly came to a close on this date (Sept. 6) with the passage of this resolution, which was generally accepted as the most dramatic and probably most fruitful in the five years' history of the League. From this time on the two committees, one charged specifically to study the problem of armaments; the other, or Juridical Committee, that of arbitration, as laid down by the League Covenant and the statutes of the International Tribunal, worked unremittingly both night and day and in a spirit of the most loyal cooperation, on the respective aspects of the problem assigned to them.

#### DRAFTING OF PROTOCOL BEGUN

By the end of the following week such progress had been made that the Assembly was able to initiate the actual labor of drafting the protocol. M. Eduard Benès, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, who had been most strenuous in League activities and who has been called the "father" of the protocol, was appointed by the Assembly to undertake the work of drafting, and he began this task on Sept. 14, in cooperation with his counselor, Jan Masaryk, former *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, with the Czechoslovak Minister to Paris, M. Stephen Osusky and others.

M. Benès found himself compelled from the start to give serious attention to the draft compact on security and disarmament prepared by the American group, headed by Professor Shotwell of Columbia University, and unofficially known as the "Shotwell Plan." The principal feature of this plan was the

proposal to declare as an "aggressor State" any nation which refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the World Court. The importance which all the delegates attached to the American document, was shown by the fact that the official summary of the original pact of mutual assistance and of the objections which the various Governments had made thereto, was accompanied by a detailed analysis of the American plan. The main difficulty for M. Benès was to link the three great problems before the Assembly—arbitration, security and disarmament—in a convention harmonizing all national and individual viewpoints and capable of universal acceptance. Optimism that M. Benès would reconcile all differences and produce a workable agreement was prevalent from this time on, and decisions reached on penalties and League combination against aggressor States by the subcommittees on Sept. 15, were declared to have rendered this optimism completely justified.

The session of Sept. 17, however, showed that all was not to be smooth sailing. Some of the keenest intellects of the world struggled all day with the question of supplementary alliances, of which the British have always been afraid, and which other nations also looked upon distrustfully as tending to engender counter-alliances and likely to destroy that peace which the League of Nations was striving to make lasting. At this time it was stated that "regional accords" would continue to be one of the essential features of the protocol which M. Benès was drafting. The agreement, however, though it sanctioned such accords, made it clear that this would operate only when an aggressor State had declined to accept an arbitral settlement, in which case all the League's member States would take immediate steps toward punitive action.

It was at this time that a principle arose which later threatened to disrupt the Assembly and make all its labors vain—namely the question of the differentiation of an international dispute

into two categories, one strictly international, the other domestic. The French laid down the principle that when the Council of the League was unanimous in declaring any question domestic or international in character, all the members of the League must accept this verdict and no nation would have the right to go to war because of any conflict based on such a question.

#### REPORT OF ARMAMENT COMMITTEE

Hope rose buoyantly when in the afternoon session of Sept. 22 the subcommittee on Security and Armaments, known as the committee of the "big twelve," reported in public session to the parent committee (the Commission on Disarmament). Amid general enthusiasm, M. Benès, the main architect of the protocol as a whole and spokesman of the subcommittee, opened the discussion. Contrary to expectation, he said, the article relating to the Statutes of the World Court had been found so comprehensive as to need no amendment, even when made obligatory on all members. A few nations, it was admitted, might make reservations. There were really to be three tribunals—the League Council, for causes mainly political; the council as supervisor of special bodies, representing States dissatisfied with council decisions, and to meet under an impartial chairman, and the World Tribunal for causes essentially judicial. Regarding sanctions, M. Benès pointed out that the new protocol provided none not specifically provided in the Covenant.

The report evoked considerable debate. Arthur Henderson, British Home Secretary, emphasized that the protocol enabled the world to "outlaw war," to "get rid of war, root and branch," to "sound the death-knell of war." Great Britain, he declared, would meet the plan of sanctions and the British fleet would carry out an economic blockade if needed. This, he felt, would be a sanction of the most powerful order. He bluntly pointed out, however, the limitations of the Council's power, though he admitted that a certain extension of

power might be allowed. There was, he very carefully explained, no idea of placing troops or ships at the free disposal of the Council to use as it saw fit. "There was no intention whatever of convening the Council of the League as a council of war." Signor Schanzer, for Italy, urged that sanctions be kept within the scope of the Covenant. He referred to the American plan (to define an aggressor nation as one that refused to arbitrate) as a "fecund," a "luminous" idea, to which he ascribed the Assembly's success in reaching an agreement to outlaw war. M. Paul Boncour, the official orator of the French delegation, who had played an important part in the Assembly proceedings, repeated his formula as to the obligations of the nations under the protocol to supply ships, armies or money. "Each must give what it has, nothing but what it has, and all of what it has," he declared.

Modifications in the draft began at once, and it was generally understood that considerable changes might occur. The tendency was to "tighten up" the League Covenant through the protocol and to eliminate all loopholes through which war might be envisaged. Article VI, newly drafted, provided for compulsory armistice in case the Council found difficulty in determining which of two States was the aggressor. The Disarmament Committee by Sept. 25 had finished its examination of the main portion of the protocol of arbitration and security and was awaiting the conclusion of the work of the committee still studying the arbitration clauses. A spirited debate marked the close of the session of this day due to attempts of the smaller nations—especially Norway—to make the protocol elastic enough to cope with "changing world conditions." The committee decided, however, that Article XIX of the League Covenant would provide for any necessary revision of treaties because it authorized the Assembly to examine at any time any and all questions liable to affect world peace.



## JAPANESE PRECIPITATE CRISIS

This was the situation when at the session of Sept. 26, the Assembly was shaken by a thunderbolt hurled from the most unexpected source—Japan. M. Adatci, head of the Japanese delegation, had been conspicuous for his earnestness, loyalty and spirit of disinterested cooperation throughout the proceedings of the Assembly since its inception, and yet it was he who, at this crucial moment, when the forty-seven nations represented stood at the very portal of the League's greatest achievement, rose to voice a proposal the effect of which was cataclysmic. The matter at issue was the already discussed question of domestic jurisdiction, as opposed to external international controversies. Under Article XV of the Covenant, if a dispute arises out of a matter which the World Court finds solely within the jurisdiction of one of the parties, the League Council is deprived of power to intervene. One article (Article V.) of the new protocol, however, stipulated that the parties to such a dispute must accept the decision of the World Tribunal or be subject to punitive sanctions. The Japanese Ambassador, after recapitulation of this, offered an amendment declaring that the new provisions "leave unaffected the Council's duty of endeavoring to conciliate the parties so as to assure the maintenance of peace and of the good understanding between nations." Even when a dispute was declared by the World Tribunal to be a matter of domestic jurisdiction, he said, the Council of the League should not drop the matter and allow the conflict to endanger world peace. He therefore suggested deleting that paragraph in the "aggressor" clause of the protocol under which any State becomes an aggressor that refuses to abide by an arbitral award of the kind suggested.

The obvious intention of the Japanese amendment, which particularly aroused the British and Australian delegates, was immediately understood by all as an attempt to remedy a situation where Japan would be compelled to cease all

efforts to agitate for the rights of her nationals in Australia, New Zealand, South America and the United States, in compliance with a loyal and effective compliance with the decision of the World Court. In plain words, the—to the Japanese—momentous problem of Japanese immigration was at stake, though the word "immigration" was left unuttered by the Japanese spokesman at this time.

The proposed amendment produced a tempest, and M. Adatci found himself standing alone against a formidable opposition, which centred in Sir Cecil Hurst of the British Foreign Office, Sir Littleton Groom, Attorney General of Australia and Raoul Fernandez, Minister Plenipotentiary of Brazil. Sir Cecil Hurst at once offered an alternative amendment using much the same words, but adding them to the final article of the protocol, where they applied not to the single case of the domestic affairs of a sovereign State, but to the mediatory and pacific activities of the Council. The question, he urged, concerned the sovereignty of several States, as opposed to the encroachment of a Superstate, such as the Council of the League would become in very fact if it were empowered to pass over the head of a decision reached by the World Tribunal.

To this counter-proposal and argument in rebuttal M. Adatci remained adamant, and continued outwardly unmoved by the strong objections, following similar lines, of Sir Littleton Groom and other delegates. M. Adatci in reply stated that this was the first time that a proposal of his had failed to be carried unanimously. He believed in the spirit of conciliation, the spirit of unanimity which had prevailed in all the debates of this Assembly; he would, therefore, not press his amendment; he would withdraw it. But it would then be necessary for Japan to withhold her signature from the protocol—from the entire structure of arbitration, security and disarmament on which the League had built such hopes.

This unforeseen conclusion aroused

the utmost consternation. Its meaning was clear; either the protocol would fail or Japan would withdraw from the League, for decisions of this sort could be carried only by unanimous vote. Adatci, after hearing the most earnest pleas for reconsideration, promised with what seemed to be deep emotion to give a final decision on the following morning. When the session adjourned the Assembly was shaken to its depths.

The Japanese decision, however, was not forthcoming until the night of Sept. 28. At the session of Sept. 27 an interpretation of the protocol given by M. Benès loomed up like a beacon from the many points of interest marking the closing debate on the protocol. States which do not sign the protocol, said M. Benès, and which do not belong to the League, may be proclaimed aggressor States 'if they refuse the arbitral proceedings laid down by the protocol and the League Covenant and resort to war. In that event, the signatory States would be obligated to apply sanctions against the non-member State, as provided for in the covenant and emphasized in the proposed protocol.

#### JAPAN'S PROTEST MAINTAINED

The Japanese decision was presented formally by Japan at the session of the following night (Sept. 28), after a day passed amid repeated private conferences and rumors of a peaceful settlement. The Japanese delegation had issued a statement challenging the League's intention "to kill all wars." That declaration, it said in effect, was a sham so long as any nation could attain the honor of another nation and thwart its vital interests under cover of legal concepts that made such conduct merely a matter of domestic jurisdiction and so beyond the reach of the League and its Court. There was an allusion also to the fact that if a nation thus "attainted" asserted its rights against the said Sovereign States, the combined armaments of the League would be launched against it.

To this statement Ambassador Adatci at the night session, before a hall crowd-

ed to its utmost capacity and vibrant with repressed excitement, added a sharp supplementary thrust, his face stonily expressionless. On Friday (the session of Sept. 26), he said, he had merely proposed an additional clause. That clause stipulated that even if the World Tribunal should adjudge the contentious matter to be within the exclusive jurisdiction of one of the two nations, the League Council should nevertheless continue its efforts toward conciliation. He now called for the excision of the words in the protocol which safeguard national sovereignty. M. Adatci made no direct reference to immigration problems in the Pacific. The States implicitly referred to were Australia and those of South America.

M. Fernandez of Brazil, was the first to reply. He could never accept, he said, the idea that underlay Japan's proposal, which could only lead to the most illegitimate of all conceivable wars—wars arising out of matters clearly within the domestic jurisdiction of a sovereign State. M. Politis of Greece and M. Rollin of Belgium made an attempt to sustain the Japanese proposals. M. Loucheur moved for adjournment; this was carried and the session broke up with the British and Australian delegations still unheard from.

This was the gravest moment which the Assembly had had to face since its convening. If the Japanese delegation voted against the protocol on the following Tuesday, the protocol would be still born. Even if the Japanese absented themselves from the session, there would be no armament conference unless three of the four nations with permanent seats in the Council ratified the protocol. Italy had wavered from the outset before the idea of compulsory arbitration. Great Britain had been deeply stirred by the false and constantly repeated charge that the British Navy would be at the command of the League Council. Only France was certain to vote for the protocol.

The feeling of tension remained unabated through Sept. 29. The Japanese contentions were thoroughly ventilated

on this day at a private meeting of the League Council before which Viscount Ishii, at the request of the Council, made a frank exposition of the Japanese viewpoint. This was followed throughout the day by repeated conferences between the principal delegates, all striving desperately to find an issue between surrender to the Japanese demands and failure of the protocol. Eventually the problem was entrusted to the study of three of the chief delegates—Sir Cecil Hurst of Great Britain, M. Loucheur of France and Signor Scialoja of Italy.

#### JAPANESE WIN VICTORY

The Assembly was electrified at the session of Sept. 30 by the glad tidings that an agreement had been reached and that the anticipated doom of all the Assembly's hopes had been lifted. Dramatic and inspiring was the announcement made before the subcommittee that the Japanese delegation was reconciled to the protocol and that the delegations of Great Britain, Australia and South Africa were reconciled to the means by which the Japanese approval had been obtained. The representatives of Great Britain, her dominions and Brazil, it was now revealed, had agreed to accept an alteration in the protocol apparently identical with the Adatci amendment. Even though the World Court has declared a matter "solely within the domestic jurisdiction" of a State that resists the authority of the League to settle it, "the decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council or the Assembly." And a State that "disregards" the verdict of the court shall be declared an aggressor only in case it "has not previously submitted the question to the Council or Assembly." This meant that a nation with a grievance not capable of adjustment under established law or custom could continue to direct the League's attention to measures calculated to eliminate the causes of complaint. The new reading, however, was explicitly based on Article XI. of the covenant, which says that any war or threat of war is a matter of

concern to the whole League and that the League shall take any action which it may deem wise and effective. As to paragraph 8 of Article XV., which forbids the Council to make any "recommendation" with regard to a matter declared by the court to be within a nation's domestic jurisdiction, Sir Cecil Hurst read into the records an interpretation that the word "recommendation" be taken in the sense in which it is used in paragraph 6 of the same article—viz., a recommendation with the force of a command.

All in all, the Assembly felt that the Japanese delegation had scored a diplomatic victory. In effect, the proposal of Sir Cecil Hurst at the time the Japanese amendment was first presented was adopted in a more coherent and strategic form. The general relief of the Assembly over the finding of a solution precluded many criticisms and the final amended protocol received much praise at the hands of many eminent jurists. The revised protocol was unanimously adopted the same evening in preparation for its final acceptance at the session scheduled for the following day and its adoption at the final meeting.

#### REVISED PROTOCOL PRESENTED

On Oct. 1, exactly one month after the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations had convened at Geneva, the revised protocol on arbitration and security, including modifications to satisfy the demand of the Japanese delegation for an amendment, was presented to the Assembly for its approval, accompanied by a general report, historical and analytical in nature, by M. Benès of Czechoslovakia and M. Politis of Greece, official reporters for the two committees which jointly framed the document.

The report of M. Benès and M. Politis was substantially as follows. The purpose was thus expressed:

Our purpose was to make war impossible, to kill it, to annihilate it. The plan drawn up leaves no loophole; it prohibits war of every description and lays down the rule that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means.



If the smallest opening were left for any measure of force the whole system would collapse, the report added, and to this end arbitration is provided for every kind of dispute, and aggression is defined in such a way as to give no cause for hesitation when the Council of the League has to take a decision. The reporters declared that these reasons led the framers of the protocol to fill in the gaps in the League Covenant and define sanctions in such a way that no possible means could be found for evading them, and that there would be a sound, definite basis for a feeling of security. The report continued:

The peace of the world is at stake. The fifth Assembly has undertaken a work of world-wide importance, which, if it succeeds, is destined profoundly to modify present political conditions. If we succeed, the League of Nations will have rendered inestimable service to the whole modern world.

The problem of the domestic jurisdiction of States raised by the Japanese delegation was treated at great length. Insistence was made that the protocol in no way derogates the rule of Article XV. of the Covenant, which protects national sovereignty, but that "in order that no doubt may exist it appears advisable to say so expressly."

Nevertheless, though the principle of Article XV. of the Covenant was maintained, M. Politis and Dr. Benès explained that it had been found necessary, in order to make its application more flexible, to introduce the ruling of Article XI. of the Covenant, which makes it the League's duty in event of war to take any action deemed wise and effective to safeguard peace, and obligates the Secretary General to summon a meeting of the Council at the request of any member of the League.

Thus, the reporters said, when it has been recognized that a dispute arises out of a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of one of the parties, that party or its opponents will be fully entitled to call upon the Council or Assembly to act.

The report then made a point deemed

by the jurists to be of great importance, as follows:

Article XI. of the Covenant does not deal with situations which are covered by rules of law capable of application by a judge; it applies only to cases which are not yet regulated by international law. Consequently it demonstrates the existence of loopholes in the law. The reference to Article XI. will be an inducement to science to clear the ground for the work which the League of Nations will have to undertake with a view to bringing about, through development of the rules of international law, a closer reconciliation between the individual interests of its members and the universal interests which it is designed to serve.

In a very noble utterance, filled with power and grace, M. Aristide Briand in the afternoon session voiced the feelings of France. He spoke before the full Assembly and his words were followed with the tensest interest. "We shall make no reservations; we shall sign the protocol as it is," he declared. He gave due meed of praise and most cordial appreciation to the labors of the brilliant group of statesmen who had framed the protocol and had thus far piloted it toward success, but he was so far from minimizing the complexities and dangers that beset its further progress that he seemed rather to stress them. Tacitly he admitted the possibility that the protocol might go down in the maelstrom of the disarmament conference and parliamentary manoeuvres. Yet of all reasons for hope he put forth the strongest that has yet been urged:

In modern war there is no victor, but all are vanquished. And such is the world today that defeat finds out the furthest nation and weighs upon it with a crushing force. \* \* \* The protocol framed by the League of Nations constitutes the most formidable obstacle to war ever devised by the human mind. If it is voted, you, its framers and sponsors, will have the right to say you have installed peace in the world. I declare to you it is the most precious moment of my public life, this in which I stand before the nations of the world and say to them in the name of France that she has placed upon the protocol her signature.

In view of the agitation caused by

the Japanese amendment, which seemed for a time to endanger the entire peace system elaborated at Geneva, Viscount Ishii's appearance on the rostrum evoked extraordinary interest. He said:

We have explained our viewpoint with complete frankness, which has sometimes rendered the discussions delicate, but we have been constantly inspired by a spirit of conciliation and understanding. Our insistence related only to purely juridical questions and had no other motive than our sincere desire to accomplish a work which would be logical and coherent.

Only loyal frankness and good-will can lead to final success and found a durable organism. Thanks to the magnificent efforts of all well-intentioned delegates, we have succeeded in establishing bases for our great accomplishment, the pacification of the world by arbitration and security, and also the liberation of humanity from the heavy burden of armaments.

Arthur Henderson, the British Home Secretary, supported the resolution for transmission of the protocol, because, he explained, "the protocol is an advance over any previous effort, exceeding even the moral elements of the Covenant."

England, through Lord Parmoor, Lord President of the Council, did not go as far as France, merely announcing her acceptance of the resolution transmitting the protocol to the Governments, but promising to exert all the influence of the British Government and Parliament to ratify it. The speaker insisted that the protocol represented no attempt to make the Council or the Assembly of the League a super-State with authority over the various Governments. Such an attempt would court inevitable failure.

The other speakers included Signor Scialoja of Italy, Jonkheer J. Loudon of Holland, Paul Hymans of Belgium and C. J. A. Enckell, former Foreign Minister of Finland.

Jonkheer Loudon paid tribute to General Bliss, Professor Shotwell and David Hunter Miller from the American contribution to the Geneva peace endeavors, and recalled that the Pope in 1917 had suggested that States which refused arbitration should be regarded as aggressors.

The protocol that promises so much for

the peaceful development of civilization was unanimously adopted by forty-seven nations at the final session of Oct. 2. It was the result of strenuous and unremitting labor and of nerve-racking crises. But these were only shadows lending saliency and luminance to the League's accomplishment. The momentous document finally adopted and signed by ten nations before adjournment embodied a new conception, the principle of obligatory arbitration to assure the world's security and its freedom from the crushing weight of armaments. Underneath this lay a new recognition of the social and economic causes of war, the pressure of expanding populations and the supply of food and raw materials—a viewpoint brought dramatically to the fore by the successful stand made by the Japanese delegation.

The Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations solemnly concluded its work for world peace by the unanimous adoption of a resolution urging all Governments to ratify the protocol of arbitration and security for the pacific settlement of international disputes. All the forty-seven States represented in the Assembly subscribed to the resolution, which was divided into two parts: The first recommended to the earnest attention of all members of the League acceptance of the protocol, which provides, in addition to clauses covering arbitration and security, for the preparation of an international conference on the reduction of armaments. The second part asks that all the countries accede at the earliest possible moment to the compulsory arbitration clause of the World Court of Justice.

The ten States whose delegations signed the protocol before adjournment were the following: France, Portugal, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Esthonia and Latvia.

France signed the compulsory arbitration clause on the basis of reciprocity for fifteen years, with the right of denunciation if the protocol should not become operative; also with the reserva-



tion that if any dispute involving France should be referred to the Council of the League, under Article XV. of the Covenant, France should not be cited before the World Court pending the Council's decision.

#### ELOQUENCE MARKS ADJOURNMENT

The Assembly adjourned at 4:45 P. M., Oct. 2, after President Motta had delivered his valedictory address. In his closing words he pronounced a glowing eulogy of the late President Wilson as the builder of the League Covenant, "the cornerstone of the new temple of peace." Of the nine delegates who shared in the closing debates, M. Paul Boncour, the French delegate, made the deepest impression with his reflections on the failure of the United States to participate in the League's greatest achievement and the expression of his and the League's hope that the American nation would ultimately associate itself with the great machinery for world peace, for which it had supplied the foundation. He warned his hearers that the success of the protocol's operation and of the world disarmament conference to be held next year depended on the policies pursued by the signatory Governments. International solutions for vital social and economic problems, he declared, must be found. "Until the day comes when such questions as raw materials, markets and emigration and immigration are studied and remedied, we still run the risk of ruin, but when that settlement comes to the world the present-day hope will be transformed into

a universal cry of joy." A ringing appeal for cooperation in making the proposed disarmament conference a success brought all the delegates to their feet in tumultuous and long-sustained applause.

Other addresses were made by representatives of Sweden, Brazil, Poland, Persia, Chile and Peru. The dramatic note of a woman's plea that war be forever banished because "its first victim is always the child" was struck by Mrs. Helen Swanwick of Great Britain, the last of the delegates to mount the rostrum before the voting.

The Assembly voted before the final adjournment to send telegrams to Prime Minister MacDonald of Great Britain, and Premier Herriot of France expressing the League's gratitude for their having given the first impetus to the great work achieved. This was later amended to include Premier Mussolini of Italy, and Baron Kato of Japan, as the heads of the two other Governments permanently represented in the Council.

The delegates dispersed amid general rejoicing and pride in the Assembly's crowning achievement, their satisfaction undamped by forebodings as to the protocol's future. The protocol must still be signed by thirty-seven of the nations represented and ratified by all before it can come into operation. Delays were anticipated.

The Assembly of the League of Nations, however, had accomplished its great purpose and the League's attitude toward the developments of the future was that of those who behold the shadows before the dawn.

### Text of the Protocol

The following is the complete text of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes as revised by the Drafting Committee and presented to the League of Nations and there approved on Oct. 2 by the representatives of forty-seven of the member States:

Animated by the firm desire to insure the

maintenance of general peace and the security of nations whose existence, independence or territories may be threatened;

Recognizing the solidarity of the members of the international community;

Asserting that a war of aggression constitutes a violation of this solidarity and an international crime;

Desirous of facilitating the complete application of the system provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations for the pacific settlement of disputes between States and insuring the repression of international crimes; and



For the purpose of realizing, as contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant, the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations;

The undersigned, duly authorized to that effect, agree as follows:

**ARTICLE 1**—The signatory States undertake to make every effort in their power to secure the introduction into the Covenant of amendments on the lines of the provisions contained in the following articles.

They agree that, as between themselves, these provisions shall be binding as from the coming into force of the present Protocol and that, so far as they are concerned, the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations shall thenceforth have power to exercise all the rights and perform all the duties conferred upon them by the Protocol.

**ARTICLE 2**—The signatory States agree in no case to resort to war either with one another or against a State which, if the occasion arises, accepts all the obligations herein-after set out, except in case of resistance to acts of aggression or when acting in agreement with the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant and of the present Protocol.

**ARTICLE 3**—The signatory States undertake to recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the cases covered by Paragraph 2 of Article 36 of the statute of the court, but without prejudice to the right of any State, when acceding to the special protocol provided for in the said article and opened for signature on Dec. 16, 1920, to make reservations compatible with the said clause.

Accession to this special protocol, opened for signature on Dec. 16, 1920, must be given within the month following the coming into force of the present Protocol.

States which accede to the present Protocol, after its coming into force, must carry out the above obligation within the month following the accession.

**ARTICLE 4**—With a view to render more complete the provisions of Paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7 of Article 15 of the Covenant, the signatory States agree to comply with the following procedure:

1. If the dispute submitted to the Council is not settled by it as provided in Paragraph 3 of the said Article 15, the Council shall endeavor to persuade the parties to submit the dispute to the judicial settlement of arbitration.

2. (a) If the parties cannot agree to do so, there shall, at the request of at least one of the parties, be constituted a Committee of Arbitrators. The committee shall so far as possible be constituted by agreement between the parties.

(b) If within the period fixed by the Council the parties have failed to agree, in whole or in part, upon the number, the names and the powers of the arbitrators and upon the procedure, the Council shall settle the points remaining in suspense. It shall with the utmost possible dispatch select in consultation with the parties the arbitrators and their President from among persons who by their nationality, their personal character and their experience, appear to it to furnish the highest guarantees of competence and impartiality.

(c) After the claims of the parties have been formulated the Committee of Arbitrators, on the request of any party, shall through the medium of the Council request advisory opinion upon any points of law in dispute from the Permanent Court of International Justice, which in such case shall meet with the utmost possible dispatch.

3. If none of the parties ask for arbitra-

tion the Council shall again take the dispute under consideration. If the Council reaches a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of any of the parties to the dispute, the signatory States agree to comply with the recommendations therein.

4. If the Council fails to reach a report which is concurred in by all its members, other than the representatives of any of the parties to the dispute, it shall submit the dispute to arbitration. It shall itself determine the composition, the powers and the procedure of the Committee of Arbitrators and, in the choice of the arbitrators, shall bear in mind the guarantees of competence and impartiality referred to in Paragraph 2 (b) above.

5. In no case may a solution, upon which there has already been an unanimous recommendation of the Council accepted by one of the parties concerned, be again called in question.

6. The signatory States undertake that they will carry out in full good faith any judicial sentence or arbitral award that may be rendered and that they will comply, as provided in Paragraph 3 above, with the solutions recommended by the Council. In the event of a State failing to carry out the above undertakings, the Council shall exert all its influence to secure compliance therewith. If it fails therein, it shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto, in accordance with the provision contained at the end of Article 13 of the Covenant. Should a State in disregard of the above undertakings resort to war, the sanctions provided for by Article 16 of the Covenant, interpreted in the manner indicated in the present Protocol, shall immediately become applicable to it.

7. The provisions of the present article do not apply to the settlement of disputes which arise as the result of measures of war taken by one or more signatory States in agreement with the Council or the Assembly.

**ARTICLE 5**—The provisions of Paragraph 8 of Article 15 of the Covenant shall continue to apply in proceedings before the Council.

If, in the course of an arbitration, such as is contemplated by Article 4 above, one of the parties claims that the dispute, or part thereof, arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the arbitrators shall on this point take the advice of the Permanent Court of International Justice through the medium of the Council. The opinion of the Court shall be binding upon the arbitrators, who, if the opinion is affirmative, shall confine themselves to so declaring in their award.

If the question is held by the Court or by the Council to be a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State, this decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council or by the Assembly under Article 11 of the Covenant.

**ARTICLE 6**—If, in accordance with Paragraph 9 of Article 15 of the Covenant, a dispute is referred to the Assembly, that body shall have for the settlement of the dispute all the powers conferred upon the Council as to endeavoring to reconcile the parties in the manner laid down in Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 15 of the Covenant and in Paragraph 1 of Article 4 above.

Should the Assembly fail to achieve an amicable settlement:

If one of the parties asks for arbitration, the Council shall proceed to constitute the Committee of Arbitrators in the manner provided in subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c) of Paragraph 2 of Article 4 above.

If no party asks for arbitration, the Assembly shall again take the dispute under consideration and shall have in this connection the same powers as the Council. Recommendations embodied in a report of the Assembly, provided that it secures the measure



of support stipulated at the end of Paragraph 10 of Article 15 of the Covenant, shall have the same value and effect as regards all matters dealt with in the present Protocol, as recommendations embodied in a report of the Council adopted as provided in Paragraph 3 of Article 4 above.

If the necessary majority cannot be obtained, the dispute shall be submitted to arbitration and the Council shall determine the composition, the powers and the procedure of the Committee of Arbitrators as laid down in Paragraph 4 of Article 4.

**ARTICLE 7**—In the event of a dispute arising between two or more signatory States, these States agree that they will not, either before the dispute is submitted to proceedings for pacific settlement or during such proceedings, make any increase of their armaments or effectives which might modify the position established by the Conference for the Reduction of Armaments provided for by Article 17 of the present Protocol, nor will they take any measure of military, naval, air, industrial or economic mobilization, nor, in general, any action of a nature likely to extend the dispute or render it more acute.

It shall be the duty of the Council, in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the Covenant, to take under consideration any complaint as to infraction of the above undertakings which is made to it by one or more of the States parties to the dispute. Should the Council be of opinion that the complaint requires investigation, it shall, if it deems it expedient, arrange for inquiries and investigations in one or more of the countries concerned. Such inquiries and investigations shall be carried out with the utmost possible dispatch and the signatory States undertake to afford every facility for carrying them out.

The sole object of measures taken by the Council as above provided is to facilitate the pacific settlement of disputes and they shall in no way prejudice the actual settlement.

If the result of such inquiries and investigations is to establish an infraction of the provisions of the first paragraph of the present article, it shall be the duty of the Council to summon the State or States guilty of the infraction to put an end thereto. Should the State or States in question fail to comply with such summons, the Council shall declare them to be guilty of a violation of the Covenant or of the present Protocol, and shall decide upon the measures to be taken with a view to end as soon as possible a situation of a nature to threaten the peace of the world.

For the purposes of the present article decisions of the Council may be taken by a two-thirds majority.

**ARTICLE 8**—The signatory States undertake to abstain from any act which might constitute a threat of aggression against another State.

If one of the signatory States is of opinion that another State is making preparations for war, it shall have the right to bring the matter to the notice of the Council.

The Council, if it ascertains that the facts are as alleged, shall proceed as provided in Paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of Article 7.

**ARTICLE 9**—The existence of demilitarized zones being calculated to prevent aggression and to facilitate a definite finding of the nature provided for in Article 10 below, the establishment of such zones between States mutually consenting thereto is recommended as a means of avoiding violations of the present Protocol.

The demilitarized zones already existing under the terms of certain treaties or conventions, or which may be established in future between States mutually consenting thereto, may at the request and at the expense of one or more of the contiguous States be placed under a temporary or permanent system of supervision to be organized by the Council.

**ARTICLE 10**—Every State which resorts to

war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or in the present Protocol is an aggressor. Violation of the rules laid down for a demilitarized zone shall be held equivalent to resort to war.

In the event of hostilities having broken out any State shall be presumed to be an aggressor unless a decision of the Council, which must be taken unanimously, shall otherwise declare:

1. If it has refused to submit the dispute to the procedure of pacific settlement provided by Article 13 and 15 of the Covenant as amplified by the present Protocol, or to comply with a judicial sentence or arbitral award or with a unanimous recommendation of the Council, or has disregarded a unanimous report of the Council, a judicial sentence or an arbitral award recognizing that the dispute between it and the other belligerent State arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the latter State; nevertheless, in the last case the State shall only be presumed to be an aggressor if it has not previously submitted the question to the Council or the Assembly, in accordance with Article 11 of the Covenant.

2. If it has violated provisional measures enjoined by the Council for the period while the proceedings are in progress as contemplated by Article 7 of the present Protocol.

Apart from the cases dealt with in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the present article, if the Council does not at once succeed in determining the aggressor, it shall be bound to enjoin upon the belligerent an armistice, and shall fix the terms, acting, if need be, by a two-thirds majority and shall supervise its execution.

Any belligerent which has refused to accept the armistice or has violated its terms shall be deemed an aggressor.

The Council shall call upon the signatory States to apply forthwith against the aggressor the sanctions provided by Article 11 of the present Protocol, and any signatory State thus called upon shall thereupon be entitled to exercise the rights of a belligerent.

**ARTICLE 11**—As soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions as provided in the last paragraph of Article 10 of the present Protocol, the obligations of the said States in regard to the sanctions of all kinds mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 16 of the Covenant, will immediately become operative, in order that such sanctions may forthwith be employed against the aggressor.

Those obligations shall be interpreted as obliging each of the signatory States to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in resistance to any act of aggression, in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow.

In accordance with Paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Covenant the signatory States give a joint and several undertaking to come to the assistance of the State attacked or threatened, and to give each other mutual support by means of facilities and reciprocal exchanges as regards the provision of raw materials and supplies of every kind, openings of credits, transport and transit, and for this purpose to take all measures in their power to preserve the safety of communications by land and by sea of the attacked or threatened State.

If both parties to the dispute are aggressors within the meaning of Article 10, the economic and financial sanctions shall be applied to both of them.

**ARTICLE 12**—In view of the complexity of the conditions in which the Council may be called upon to exercise the functions mentioned in Article 11 of the present Protocol concerning economic and financial sanctions, and in order to determine more exactly the



guarantees afforded by the present Protocol to the signatory States, the Council shall forthwith invite the economic and financial organizations of the League of Nations to consider and report as to the nature of the steps to be taken to give effect to the financial and economic sanctions and measures of cooperation contemplated in Article 16 of the Covenant and in Article 11 of this Protocol.

When in possession of this information the Council shall draw up through its competent organs:

1. Plans of action for the application of the economic and financial sanctions against an aggressor State.

2. Plans of economic and financial cooperation between a State attacked and the different States assisting it; and shall communicate these plans to the members of the League and to the other signatory States.

**ARTICLE 13**—In view of the contingent military, naval and air sanctions provided for by Article 16 of the Covenant and by Article 11 of the present Protocol, the Council shall be entitled to receive undertakings from States determining in advance the military, naval and air forces which they would be able to bring into action immediately to insure the fulfillment of the obligations in regard to sanctions which result from the Covenant and the present Protocol.

Furthermore, as soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions, as provided in the last paragraph of Article 10 above, the said States may, in accordance with any agreements which they may previously have concluded, bring to the assistance of a particular State which is the victim of aggression their military, naval and air forces.

The agreements mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall be registered and published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They shall remain open to all States members of the League which may desire to accede thereto.

**ARTICLE 14**—The Council shall alone be competent to declare that the application of sanctions shall cease and normal conditions be re-established.

**ARTICLE 15**—In conformity with the spirit of the present Protocol, the signatory States agree that the whole cost of any military, naval or air operations undertaken for the repression of an aggression under the terms of the Protocol, and reparation of all losses suffered by individuals, whether civilians or combatants, and for all material damage caused by the operations of both sides, shall be borne by the aggressor State up to the extreme limit of its capacity.

Nevertheless, in view of Article X. of the Covenant, neither the territorial integrity nor the political independence of the aggressor State shall in any case be affected as the result of the application of the sanctions mentioned in the present Protocol.

**ARTICLE 16**—The signatory States agree that in the event of a dispute between one or more of them and one or more States which have not signed the present Protocol and are not members of the League of Nations, such non-member States shall be invited, on the conditions contemplated in Article XVII. of the Covenant to submit, for the purpose of a pacific settlement, to the obligations accepted by the State signatories of the present Protocol. If the State so invited, having refused to accept the said conditions and obligations, resorts to war against a signatory State, the provisions of Article XVI. of the Covenant, as defined by the present Protocol, shall be applicable against it.

**ARTICLE 17**—The signatory States undertake to participate in an international conference for the reduction of armaments which shall be convened by the Council and shall meet at Geneva on Monday, June 15, 1925.

All other States, whether members of the League or not, shall be invited to this conference.

In preparation for the convening of the conference, the Council shall draw up with due regard to the undertakings contained in Article 11 and 13 of the present Protocol a general program for the reduction and limitation of armaments, which shall be laid before the conference and which shall be communicated to the Governments at the earliest possible date, and at the latest three months before the conference meets.

If by May 1, 1925, ratifications have not been deposited by at least a majority of the permanent members of the Council and ten other members of the League the Secretary General of the League shall immediately consult the Council as to whether he shall cancel the invitations or merely adjourn the conference until a sufficient number of ratifications have been deposited.

**ARTICLE 18**—Wherever mention is made in Article 10, or in any other provision of the present Protocol, of a decision of the Council, this shall be understood in the sense of Article XV. of the Covenant, namely, that the votes of the representatives of the parties to the dispute shall not be counted when reckoning unanimity or the necessary majority.

**ARTICLE 19**—Except as expressly provided by its terms, the present Protocol shall not affect in any way the rights and obligations of members of the League as determined by the Covenant.

**ARTICLE 20**—Any dispute as to the interpretation of the present Protocol shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

**ARTICLE 21**—The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at the Secretariat of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

States of which the seat of government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Secretariat of the League of Nations that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

So soon as the majority of the permanent members of the Council and ten other members of the League have deposited or have effected their ratifications, a procès-verbal to that effect shall be drawn up by the Secretariat.

After the said procès-verbal has been drawn up, the Protocol shall come into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted by the conference provided for in Article 17.

If within such period after the adoption of the plan for the reduction of armaments as shall be fixed by the said conference the plan has not been carried out, the Council shall make a declaration to that effect; this declaration shall render the present Protocol null and void.

The grounds on which the Council may declare that the plan drawn up by the International Conference for the Reduction of Armament has not been carried out, and that in consequence the present Protocol has been rendered null and void, shall be laid down by the conference itself.

A signatory State which, after the expiration of the period fixed by the conference, fails to comply with the plan adopted by the conference, shall not be admitted to benefit by the provisions of the present Protocol.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present Protocol.

Done at Geneva, on the 2d day of October, nineteen hundred and twenty-four, in a single copy, which will be kept in the archives of the Secretariat of the League, and registered by it on the date of its coming into force.